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Kosovo Prime Minister Bukoshi Meets With Leaders

Alia Stresses Assembly Decisions

AU1911145791 Tirana ATA in English 1312 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Tirana, November 19 (ATA)—Ramiz Alia, president of the Republic of Albania, received the premier of the Republic of Kosovo, Dr. Bujar Bukoshi, at the Palace of Brigades on November 19 before noon.

I am glad to meet you, President Ramiz Alia said to Dr. Bujar Bukoshi. On this occasion I greet you as representative of the people of Kosovo and wish them successes at work. You, he said, took over this task at a difficult time, but it is precisely the time when wise people are needed to lead and to carry national cause forward.

Further on, President Ramiz Alia stressed that the decisions of the Assembly of Kosovo were rather correct in time and indispensable in order to give new impulses to the solution of problems. The Republic of Albania, the president pointed out, will render the necessary and permanent support to the Albanians in Yugoslavia. The question of the Albanians is one, he underlined. We are one nation. History divided in half our territories, but not the hearts.

On his part, the premier of the Republic of Kosovo, Dr. Bujar Bukoshi, thanked the president of the Republic of Albania, Ramiz Alia, for the efforts and aid of the Albanians of Kosovo and those living in other territories of Yugoslavia. Dr. Bujar Bukoshi pointed out that the government he leads is making efforts to solve the great and difficult problems.

With regard to concrete situation in Kosovo, Dr.. Bujar Bukoshi stressed that the situation in the Republic of Kosovo is rather difficult. Serbia is making efforts to suffocate Kosovo, it seeks to subdue it through hunger, along with other violent daily measures. The movement of the people and goods has become difficult, he said, and this is part of the plans of Serbia to stamp out the legitimate aspiration of the Albanian people of Kosovo and those living in other territories in Yugoslavia.

Further on, President Ramiz Alia took interest in the creation of the proper conditions for the functioning of information organisms and other things of the Republic of Kosovo in Albania. He said that the question of Kosovo should be treated politically and with attention.

Attending the reception, which passed in a warm and fraternal atmosphere, were also the vice minister of foreign affairs, Ilir Bocka, and Prof. Ali Aliu.

Pashko Explains Stability Government

AU1911210891 Tirana ATA in English 1857 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Tirana, November 19 (ATA)—On November 19 afternoon, the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Dr. Gramoz Pashko, received at the Prime Minister's Office the premier of the Republic of Kosovo, Dr. Bujar Bukoshi, and had a fraternal talk with him.

Dr. Gramoz Pashko acquainted the prime minister of Kosovo with the present activity of the Stability Government and its projects to overcome the grave situation existing at home and to successfully apply the economic reform.

During the meeting, they spoke of political problems to the interest of the Albanian cause and exchanged views regarding the current developments and the tendencies and alternatives of the perspective.

Attending the meeting were also the Deputy Teodor Keko; the deputy minister of foreign affairs, Ilir Bocka; and Prof. Ali Aliu.

Democratic Party Group Boycotts People's Assembly

AU1911173391 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1700 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Today's People's Assembly session began at 0900 GMT. The Democratic Party's [PD] parliamentary group did not take part in this session. Because less than half the deputies were present, Presidency President Kastriot Islami postponed the session for one hour in order to enable the parliamentary groups to decide their standpoints on the problems on the agenda.

The session was to discuss the bill on the status of the radio and television. Nevertheless, the plenary session did not take place, and this concluded the morning's proceedings.

The People's Assembly resumed its proceedings at 1730. The PD's parliamentary group again did not take part. This parliamentary group has stated that it will not take part in the debate on the bill on the status of the radio and television unless the radio and television directors are first dismissed. Thus, only the deputies of the Socialist Party and Omonia were present in the hall.

Because more than half the deputies were present, the session began. However, the session's chairman Lush Perpali postponed the debate until 1830 in order to leave time for the Legal Commission to consider the bill on the status of the radio and television.

The proceedings are continuing.

Bokov, Tomov Criticize Zhelev Speech in Brussels

AU1911200191 Sofia BTA in English 1928 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 19 (BTA)—"We assess in positive terms the results of the visit to Brussels by President Zhelyu Zhelev, in as much as it helps Bulgaria's integration into Europe, and we appreciate particularly the prospects for Bulgaria's association, probably next year, with the European Communities," Mr. Filip Bokov, foreign minister in the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] shadow cabinet, told the press today. However, he went on to criticize President Zhelev for some of his statements and initiatives unveiled in Brussels.

In Mr. Bokov's view, it would have been better if the Bulgarian president asked NATO for legal guarantees of Bulgaria's security instead of declaring that Bulgaria wants to join NATO. The president's initiative for trilateral consultations between Bulgaria, Turkey and Greece is positive, except for the ambition to mediate between two sovereign NATO member countries, Mr. Bokov said. For his part, BSP shadow prime minister and ex-deputy premier, Aleksandur Tomov said it would be absurd for Bulgaria to take on a mediation role between those two countries at the moment.

"The very way in which this initiative was launched gives grounds for serious concern and serious doubts: The minister of foreign affairs said he had coordinated the initiative with the NATO secretary general, but we believe it should have been first discussed by the government back in Sofia," Mr. Bokov said. He described as "improvisation" the launch of such initiatives without their serious consideration in Sofia.

The socialists described as "unorthodox" Dr. Zhelev's suggestion on the deployment of NATO troops in Yugoslavia. As the international community has so far only considered the deployment of UN peacekeeping forces or possibly troops of the Western European Union, Mr. Bokov said, the socialists wonder whether the president came up with this initiative for lack of information or under somebody's pressure.

BSP Briefing Expresses Views on Foreign Policy

AU1911195191 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] At their news conference today representatives of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] outlined their views on basic issues of Bulgarian foreign policy.

Filip Bokov, who is in charge of foreign policy in the BSP shadow cabinet, pointed out that the country needs a European-oriented policy and should discard the long-standing position as a satellite. In relations with Balkan countries it should not be permitted to subject Bulgaria to any pressure. Relations with the United States should be developed by taking into account the existing U.S. interests in the Balkans.

Filip Bokov positively evaluates the results of the Bulgarian president's visit to Brussels, but he considers amazing the wish expressed that Bulgaria should join NATO, considering that the NATO member countries have clearly stated their intention not to admit any further members for a number of reasons. According to Filip Bokov, it would be better to ask NATO for guarantees safeguarding our national security. Aleksandur Tomov defined President Zhelyu Zhelev's latest Balkan initiatives as an expression of goodwill and as the result of improvisation, but not as a result of prolonged preparatory work.

Concerning the forthcoming presidential elections, Aleksandur Tomov announced that the BSP would decide whose nomination to support by the end of next week. The option that the socialists would nominate their own presidential candidate cannot be excluded. Another option is that they may support an independent candidate who would be able to unite the nation.

Political Parties Discuss Presidential Elections

AU1911182291 Sofia BTA in English 1720 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 19 (Iva Toncheva of BTA)—The presidential elections are scheduled for January 12. They will be the first direct presidential elections in Bulgaria. Under the Constitution, eligible for president shall be any natural-born Bulgarian over 40 years of age who has resided in the country for the five years preceding the election. The candidates should either be nominated by parties or coalitions or should collect 5,000 signatures to register for participation.

The incumbent president, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, stands the greatest chance of being elected. He is a philosopher, a dissident under the communist regime and leader of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) before he was elected president. "It is most natural for me to be the nominee of the UDF," Dr. Zhelev said in an interview for "DEMOKRATSIYA" published today. He added that if nominated for president, it would be natural to get the support of the noncommunist formations outside the UDF—of all Bulgarians who wish to live in a normal state.

The Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the Liberals' Party have already declared their support for Dr. Zhelev. The Greens and the Social Democrats who lost in the parliamentary elections are still following a wait-and-see policy. At a press conference today they said that they would like to see the programme of the future president who should embody the unity of the nation.

Today the UDF Coordinating Council discussed the possible vice presidency candidates but Mr. Filip Dimitrov, prime minister and chairman of the Coordinating Council, refused to give the BTA reporter any details. The Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) has not yet announced its candidate.

At the regular press conference of the BSP today Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council, confirmed the statements high-ranking BSP activists had previously made: The BSP will not support Dr. Zhelev's candidature. The BSP has not given up the idea of nominating a candidate of its own. But judging by Mr. Tomov's statement, the socialists could choose to back an independent candidate, no matter who the vice presidency candidate is. Mr. Tomov said that the BSP would come out with its official stand on the candidature it will support by the end of next week. The assessment of the various possibilities Bulgarian political life has to offer will take some time, Mr. Tomov explained.

Mr. Georges Ganchev, a colourful personality and leader of the Bulgarian Business Bloc, already announced his intention to run in the presidential elections as an independent candidate. He lived in Great Britain and the United States for many years and claims to be a millionaire. He had launched his campaign even before parliament set the date for the presidential elections, mainly by criticizing Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev. Mr. Ganchev has recently announced that his vice presidential nominee is Mr. Petur Beron, former leader of the UDF who was forced to resign last November after his connection with the secret services was disclosed.

Some of the minor parties have also nominated candidates. They would hardly poll one or two percent of the vote. To be elected, a candidate requires more than one-half of the valid ballots. If none of the candidates is elected, there will be a runoff for the two top candidates. In three days parliament is to appoint the members of the Electoral Commission. Registration should be completed 40 days prior to election date, i.e. by December 3 at the latest. The presidential election campaign will start after the Central Electoral Commission publishes the tickets in the official gazette. It should do it 30 days prior to election date, i.e. on December 13.

New Regional Development Minister Meets Press

Plans Territorial Reorganization

AU2011082591 Sofia BTA in English 0740 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 20 (BTA)—Mr. Nikola Karadimov, minister of regional development, housing policy and construction, met the press to discuss the key areas of operation of his newly established ministry which replaced the Ministry of Construction and Architecture.

For starters, ministry experts will draft a bill retailoring the units of Bulgaria's territorial administration. The current division into 273 municipalities and nine regions does not correspond to the actual state of affairs, Mr. Karadimov believes. Most probably the municipalities will be considerably more, there will be 80 to 90 districts, and it is still debatable whether to keep the regions. The reform will be carried out after a referendum.

The ministry will lay down the national policy of regional development seeking to redress the existing imbalances in the development of individual regions, the depopulation of the southeastern part of the country, the underdevelopment of rural areas and the severe environmental problems.

A lot remains to be done in the field of regional and urban planning, Mr. Karadimov said. The existing development plans cover above all the population centres but the worst hit areas lie outside them: degraded land, destroyed natural resources, polluted water sources. Besides, these plans have a markedly restrictive nature and disregard private property. The principal idea of the new development plans will be to create conditions for the promotion of farming and entrepreneurship in tourism and recreation.

Sets Out Housing Policy

AU2011082891 Sofia BTA in English 0751 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 20 (BTA)—The newly established Ministry of Regional Development, Housing Policy and Construction intends to work out a new housing policy for Bulgaria by placing the solution of the housing problem on an entirely commercial basis, the new minister Mr. Nikola Karadimov told the press.

At present Bulgaria has 3,300,000 dwellings and 3,030,000 households, apart from some 400,000 weekend houses, 250,000 of which are inhabitable round the year and qualify as dwellings by international standards. This statistical balance, however, is only theoretical because the distribution of the housing stock is uneven. The shortage of residential units in the large cities totals some 350,000 while rural areas have unoccupied housing.

Mr. Karadimov said there should be a genuine housing market in Bulgaria because 90 per cent of the dwellings are privately owned. Privatization has gone too far in this area, the minister believes, as the 10 per cent council housing is not enough to meet the needs of the socially disadvantaged.

Housing construction is the industry that can first go private, Mr. Karadimov said. Experts are working on a modern crediting system as average Bulgarians find it unaffordable to buy a home of their own. The average housing deposit now would only cover 2 or 3 per cent of the price of a residential unit.

Construction supervision should be vested in a sort of construction police which should control the observance of building standards and the exercise of building rights, Mr. Karadimov believes. The state construction inspectorate, which has discharged these functions so far, will be unnecessary in the conditions of a private construction.

Spokesman Praises Ties With USSR, Shevardnadze

LD2011093891 Prague CSTK in English 0828 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] Prague Nov 20 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Spokesman Egon Lansky last night expressed the hope that Eduard Shevardnadze's return to the post of Soviet foreign minister will be good for both the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. Reacting to the replacement of Boris Pankin by Shevardnadze, Lansky said "Czechoslovakia's relations with the Soviet Union are now on the best level in the two countries' history". Lansky said the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry has "excellent relations" with both Pankin and Shevardnadze.

Pankin was Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia until his appointment [as] Soviet foreign minister following the failed coup in the Soviet Union in August.

No Changes Reported in Oil Supplies From USSR

LD1911074191 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] (Antonin Horka), representative of the Czechoslovak Chemapol company in the Soviet Union, announced today that to this date no changes in the volume of oil supplies from the Soviet Union to Czechoslovakia were made. Supplies have been confirmed until the end of November. Those for December will be confirmed at the end of this month. According to Horka, the measures (?introduced) by the Russian Government should not have any effect on oil supplies confirmed by contracts.

Slovakia's Demes Assesses Talks in Ukraine

AU1911184391 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 18 Nov 91 p 5

[Interview with Slovak International Relations Minister Pavol Demes by Blazej Panik in Bratislava on 15 November: "A Bridge Is Our Best Chance"]

[Text] Slovak International Relations Minister Pavol Demes returned from a three-day official visit to Kiev on the evening of 15 November. He held talks there with Ukrainian State Council Deputy Chairman Sergiy Komisarenko, Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko, Defense Minister Kostyantyn Morozov, Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka] Chairman Ivan Drach, and other representatives. We asked Minister Demes for an interview immediately after his return.

[Panik] In view of the wide-ranging exchange of views on the need to intensify mutually advantageous relations between Slovakia and the Ukraine, what specific conclusions have you reached?

[Demes] The dominant feature of all our meetings was the Ukraine's genuine interest in cooperation with Slovakia. They have learned a great deal about us and we have learned a great deal about them. From our point of view, this creates good prerequisites for ensuring that Slovakia becomes a kind of bridge to the Ukraine. We should not ignore this stratagem and our talks in Kiev have convinced us of it even more. As far as specific forms of economic and commercial cooperation are concerned, these could get off the ground even more quickly in the current situation as the Ukrainians lack the very products and goods that we find it difficult to place on other markets.

[Panik] Everything indicates that the Ukraine will very soon become a fully independent and sovereign state. Therefore, there will be a quite substantial change to the geopolitical map of Europe. There will be a new power, even a nuclear power, in our immediate vicinity. During your talks, were you aware of this fact on the part of your hosts?

[Demes] It was obvious that the Ukraine is aware of its military strength and of its nuclear potential, but in no way does it intend to jeopardize the disarmament processes. In other words, the Ukraine does not want to take advantage of its strength to set conditions for someone else. It considers issues connected with security stability and the inviolability of borders in accordance with the Helsinki Final Act to be elementary and will respect them. Defense Minister Morozov personally emphasized that their aim is a nuclear-free Ukraine and an army that would provide sufficient defense for the republic. However, Kiev wants to participate, within the framework of the Moscow-Washington nuclear weapons elimination process, in supervising their destruction as an independent entity. It is opposed to these weapons being transferred to Russian territory.

[Panik] The state of Ukrainian-Russian relations will be of great significance for us, at least, in the very near future. What is the Ukrainian side's point of view on this?

[Demes] No one in Kiev is denying the republic's strong links with the Russian economy. This linkage is indeed great. Therefore, the Ukraine will have to find, and is trying very hard to find, a method of mutually beneficial communications with the Russian Federation. In accordance with this, Czechoslovakia must also strive for a balanced approach toward Kiev and Moscow.

[Panik] During your talks, in what way did you, or your partners, touch on issues connected with our mutual borders?

[Demes] Our point of view, as well as that of the Ukraine, was unequivocal: The current borders are inviolable. The issue of Subcarpathian Ruthenia is a sovereign matter for the Ukraine and Foreign Minister Zlenko reminded us that not one political party or movement in Slovakia has made any territorial claims.

[Panik] In Slovakia no, but in Czechoslovakia yes....

[Demes] I know. You are alluding to Mr. Sladek. However, the Ukrainians did not mention this topic.

[Panik] They did not mention the CSFR's possible recognition of Ukrainian independence?

[Demes] No. They did not mention this. However, in the case of the Ukraine, this issue is not a contentious one for Czechoslovakia.

[Panik] The Ukraine is interested in joining the family of CSCE member states. Have its representatives sent any signals to Prague, to the CSCE Secretariat headquarters, in this regard?

[Demes] The CSFR's role in incorporating the Ukraine into the CSCE process is, I think, quite obvious. Another round of talks at foreign minister level will be held shortly. A protocol on cooperation between the CSFR and the Ukraine should also be signed.

[Panik] For when has Prime Minister Carnogursky's visit been prepared?

[Demes] It will not be before December, that is, it will be after the referendum and the presidential elections. Both sides will agree on a specific date. However, it is also possible that we will welcome a high-level Ukrainian delegation to our country first.

[Panik] During your talks, you undoubtedly also referred to the ethnic minority issue. As far as I am aware, the decision to rename the museum in Svidnik from the Ukrainian Museum to the National History Museum has met with an unfavorable response in the Ukraine....

[Demes] Yes. We discussed this matter frequently and at all levels. The Ukrainians do not understand this and they even perceive it as a kind of act of ill will against the Ukraine. Since this is an issue that lies within the jurisdiction of the Culture Ministry, I assured our partners that we will discuss it with Minister Snopko as soon as we return home. Moreover, I have invited the chairman of the parliamentary foreign affairs committee, the well known Ukrainian poet and patriot, Mr. [Dmytro] Pavlychko, to visit our country along with journalists in order to seek a mutually satisfactory solution. At the same time, it has to be stressed that only the museum's name, and not its contents, has been changed in view of the fact that members of the Ruthenian ethnic minority as well as of the Ukrainian ethnic minority live in our country.

Serbian, Croatian Deputies Invited to Prague

LD2011091591 Prague CSTK in English 1841 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade Nov 19 (CSTK)—The Yugoslav deputy foreign minister, Milan Veres, today received visiting Czech Government officials and parliamentarians to discuss the fighting in Yugoslavia. Viktorie Hradska, deputy chairwoman of the Czech Government's committee for international relations, and Karel Stindl, chairman of the foreign committee of the Czech National Council (parliament), told Veres that during their talks on Monday with members of the Serbian parliament, they proposed a meeting between Serbian and Croatian deputies in Prague. The Serbian deputies agreed to the proposed meeting.

Prague Student Rallies Support Havel Proposal

LD1911142991 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] About 3,000 students from Prague colleges gathered at 1000 today in Wenceslas Square to support the proposals submitted by President Vaclav Havel in his televised address last Sunday. Student representative Libor Adamek, from the College of Communication Technology, conveyed the embitterment felt as a result of the inability of the legislative bodies to agree on the future of our state. He singled out as the basic demands voiced by the students the following: the need to give the president the right to declare a referendum, the need to approve a bill enabling dissolution of the Federal Assembly, to create its new structure, and to call general elections.

Another rally in support of President Havel's initiatives was held an hour ago in the Czech Technological University complex in Prague-Dejvice. The participants—university students—are appealing to all citizens to join them in support of Vaclav Havel's proposals at 1600 in Wenceslas Square.

Pithart: Assembly Deputies To Adopt Havel's Plan

LD1911061191 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 2000 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Excerpts] The Brno City Civic Movement organization prepared a rally at U Jakuba theater this evening to mark the second anniversary of the Velvet Revolution. Jaroslav Rektor reports more in detail:

[Begin Rektor recording] The citizens attending the rally welcomed representatives of the Civic Movement, Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart and Federal Environment Minister Josef Vavrousek, in their midst. [passage omitted]

The two guests expressed their views on yesterday's speech by President Vaclav Havel. They perceive this speech as the way out of the current crisis situation. In this context, Prime Minister Pithart expressed his conviction that the majority of Federal Assembly deputies would be prepared to adopt the president's proposals. Nevertheless, it is his view that the present voting mechanism makes it possible even for a very small minority to prevent the adoption of any proposal. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Slovak Parties React to Havel's Appeal

LD1911151291 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Correspondent Alena Michalicova asked Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left, about his party's reaction to President Havel's keynote speech yesterday:

[Begin recording] [Weiss] It is of course a good thing that the president realizes his responsibility for the current situation regarding the constitutional set-up. My opinion is, however, that at the present time it is necessary to analyze the causes of this crisis, and I did not perceive such an analysis in the president's speech. It is not possible to accuse all the deputies alike since they are members of certain individual political parties. I do not think that it is good for our developing parliamentarian system if the president, who is elected by the Federal Assembly, casts doubt on it in this way. [passage omitted]

I think that the talks [between national councils] must continue and we must not allow the national councils to be excluded in any way from the creation of the constitutional system. [passage omitted]

We must openly discuss what shape the common state should have and this issue cannot be solved by any referendum. I do not think that it is a good thing that the parliament should now return to something which it has already decided very unequivocally. I think that the citizens' faith in parliament cannot be restored in this way. Behind the president's proposals concerning the constitutional set-up itself one can see once again, and not for the first time, a tendency to strengthen the powers of the president which, under certain circumstances, could, in fact, lead to our abandoning of the traditions of a parliamentary democracy and we could end up in a presidential regime. I think that in this country this tendency will not receive much support. [end recording]

[Announcer] Zuzana Stukovska interviewed Jozef Prokes, chairman of the Slovak National Party [SNP], on his party's reaction to President Havel's address:

[Begin recording] [Stukovska] Mr. Prokes, yesterday the president proposed a way out of the current constitutional crisis. Which of Vaclav Havel's proposals are acceptable for the SNP?

[Prokes] From the proposals we heard yesterday, only that of early elections is acceptable for us. I have already proposed this to the president during one of his visits to Bratislava.

[Stukovska] As far as the other proposals are concerned, what are your party's objections to them?

[Prokes] First of all, it is the problem of calling a referendum first, which is illogical. [passage omitted] I think that the only logical sequence of steps is to declare the independence of the republics, that is, their right to decide their own matters, to pass the republics' constitutions—which means the legal system of these republics. And in the meantime, between the passing of these constitutions and their coming into effect, to call a referendum out of the will of sovereign republics which will also decide their future relations since only the republics have their original sovereignty both in the sense of today's constitution and from the point of view of international conventions.

[Stukovska] Mr. Prokes, the president thinks that at this time it is beyond the power of our representative bodies to reach a timely and reasonable agreement on the future of our state. We know, however, that it has already been decided that the constitutional talks between the presidiums of the Czech and the Slovak National Councils will continue. Does it mean that you and the SNP are not optimistic about the outcome of the talks?

[Prokes] I am convinced that the negotiations are meaningful if both sides are willing to reach an agreement. In my view, this will is absent on both sides and they only play for time. Any intervention by federal bodies into these talks can only complicate the situation. We must realize that it is the federal bureaucracy that is fully responsible for the war in Yugoslavia. It launched the war in an effort to retain its power. This conflict has been only secondarily transformed into the conflict between the Croats and Serbs. Therefore I consider the address by Prime Minister Calfa in this situation as a similar threat to that of the federal bureaucracy in Yugoslavia. We should realize this and abandon such positions very quickly. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Poll Shows Majority Surveyed Back Havel Proposal

LD1911220391 Prague CSTK in English 1348 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Prague Nov 19 (CSTK)—The majority of residents in Czechoslovakia's three largest cities regard President Vaclav Havel's recent proposals for resolving the country's current political crisis as "useful," according to a telephone survey of 609 people carried out Monday by the Prague-based Institute for Public Opinion Research. Approval came from over 80 per cent of people living in Prague and Brno in the Czech Republic, and 56 per cent of residents of the Slovak capital of Bratislava.

In a televised speech Sunday, Havel proposed several measures aimed at breaking the deadlock in Czech-Slovak talks on the future of the federation, including giving the presidency greater powers. He also called for direct public involvement in the search for a solution to the crisis.

In Prague and Brno, most respondents were willing to support the president by signing a petition (83 per cent), taking part in demonstrations (49 per cent), or through a direct appeal to their parliamentary deputy (34 per cent). In Bratislava, most respondents preferred to sign a petition (57

per cent), more than a third would pressure their deputies and about a third were ready to demonstrate.

Civic Movement, Communists Rule Out Coalition

LD1911030691 Prague CSTK in English 1741 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Prague Nov 18 (CSTK)—Civic Movement (OH) press spokesman Jan Chudomel today ruled out a pre-election coalition between the OH and the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM). In an interview with CSTK, Chudomel said OH Chairman Jiri Dienstbier, who is also Czechoslovak foreign minister, and KSCM Chairman Jiri Svoboda had talks today but these did not touch on the possibility of forming a coalition.

The OH, which describes itself as liberal-centrist, has been holding a series of meetings with Slovak and now Czech parliamentary parties.

Svoboda told CSTK the KSCM and OH share similar views on the social impact of Czechoslovakia's economic reforms.

Dienstbier Outlines Civic Movement Election Stand

AU1911152891 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 16 Nov 91 p 3

[Interview with Civic Movement Chairman Jiri Dienstbier by Jana Smidova; place and date not given: "The Center Is Not the Median"]

[Text] [Smidova] What will happen at the [Civic Movement] Republican Assembly? Some people already envisage a split, a crossroads, or the movement's transformation into a party.

[Dienstbier] This will be an out and out working meeting at which it will be necessary to clearly state our fundamental concept. We want to hold consultations on the kind of election campaign we will conduct so that a decent liberal course of action is finally embarked upon in this society.

[Smidova] Unofficially, the election campaign is already under way, and this is often conducted in a manner that is far from decent. Have you come along a little too late?

[Dienstbier] We have tried to instill decency from the very beginning. Real polarization is not a clash between the left wing and the right wing, but it is a clash between a free-thinking liberal course of action and the extremes at both ends of the political spectrum. The center is not the median. The center has an understanding for peace, balance, and pragmatism.

[Smidova] It is necessary to have a specific background to assert certain things. It is said that you are like a general without troops. Moreover, it is said that the General Staff is in disarray.

[Dienstbier] If we want to install democracy, we have to allow for plurality within political movements and parties. Democracy involves discussion and not chaos. It is necessary to come to an agreement gradually. Plurality is healthy, but if we are to be capable of action, we have to agree on a common policy. After all, there is no art involved in obeying the commands of a single leader.

[Smidova] The elections are not only a future prospect, they are also a settling of accounts. You were all elected under a single Civic Forum election umbrella. However, today it seems that protective shields have been formed from this umbrella. Do the Civic Movement and the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] still share a joint account?

[Dienstbier] We will all settle our accounts, ministers as well as parties or movements. I think that, despite all the problems, a great deal has been achieved in two years. There are no Soviet troops here, there is no Warsaw Pact, we have held free elections, and we have undertaken comprehensive legislative activity in the government and parliaments. We are not faced with the problems of totalitarianism, but with the difficulties of an immature democracy. Great success has been achieved by everyone who participated in this, regardless of their party affiliation. As far as relations with the ODS are concerned, our cooperation in the governments is good. The conflicts from parliament and the streets are not felt there. Incidentally, we are not the ones talking about barricades.

[Smidova] Five percent of voters would vote for the Civic Movement if elections were held today....

[Dienstbier] We will not receive 5 percent. We will receive much more. We have not yet begun our election campaign. I am convinced that the people have a regard for peace and understand that what we want to introduce into society and this is the antithesis to all kinds of extremes.

ODU-VPN Stand on Constitutional Arrangement Talks

AU1911183591 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 18 Nov 91 p 2

[Statement by the Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence Party Republican Council on the current state of negotiations on the CSFR's constitutional and legal arrangement; issued in Bratislava on 16 November: "Is an Agreement Possible?"]

[Text] The first session of the Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence Party [ODU-VPN] Republican Council was held in Bratislava on 16 November. The council discussed the party's internal structure and topical political issues and came to an agreement on the current state of negotiations on the CSFR's constitutional and legal arrangement.

The ODU is determined to enter into the next round of talks on the constitutional and legal arrangement with a clear view of where the boundary beyond which the joint state ceases to exist lies.

The ODU-VPN Republican Council states that the current method of negotiating on individual jurisdiction is

no longer acceptable because it is not leading to the kind of agreement essential for the creation of a functioning federative state.

We reject the constant raising of nonjurisdiction-related demands and the repeated tabling of closed issues because this does not lead to the possibility of concluding an agreement and, subsequently, gives people the impression that no agreement is possible at all. On the contrary, it leads to the mutual conviction that it is impossible to preserve the state. If a majority view making possible an agreement with the Czech National Council Presidium is not achieved in the Slovak National Council [SNR] Presidium, we will have to state that such a method of negotiation between the national councils is not feasible with this composition of political forces in the SNR. Moreover, this method is misleading and may serve to create the illusion of a constitutional path toward an independent Slovak state.

Contrary to the oversimplified perception of drafting the new constitutions "from below," we stress that we perceive this process not only from the point of view of the participation of republican political representatives in it, but, first and foremost, from the point of view of democratic respect for the citizens' opinions and vital interests. Shaping the federation from below also means that we will establish it from the citizen, the community, and the region. We support the CSFR Government's involvement in the constitutional and legal process in the interest of preserving democracy, civil rights, and stability within our common home.

The ODU-VPN still considers the idea of a referendum a constitutional way of resolving the constitutional and legal arrangement to be a sensible idea.

We agree with the point of view expressed by the president of the republic that the treaty [between the national councils] cannot have a supraconstitutional character.

We suggest that ODU-VPN representatives in the Slovak Government adopt a comprehensive position on jurisdiction and also on the contentious stipulations in the negotiations between the two national councils' presidiums.

The ODU-VPN is convinced of the purposeful nature of the continued existence of the government coalition with the Democratic Party, the Hungarian Independent Initiative, and the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]. However, the ODU-VPN is determined to clearly and publicly support and express the points of view that differ from those of its coalition partner, the KDH, in fundamental issues associated with the constitutional and legal arrangement and economic transformation.

The ODU-VPN, as a party that operates throughout the federation, considers it purposeful to cooperate in particular with the Civic Democratic Party and the Civic Democratic Alliance and with other political forces that are not left-wing.

Liberal Democratic Head Analyzes Coalition Aims

AU1911170391 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 16 Nov 91 p 2

["(JDJ)"-signed report: "A Coalition of the Democratic Right Wing"]

[Text] Mrs. Viktoria Hradska, deputy chairwoman of the Czech Government Committee for Foreign Relations, became the new chairwoman of the Czech Liberal Democratic Party [LDS] after the 10 November third republican assembly. This was the reason why I asked "the woman leading the liberals" to take an analytical view of events in this party.

"We only operate politically in the Czech Republic, although we also have an independent Moravian-Silesian organization. Our membership base is approximately 4,000-strong and we have two deputies in the Federal Assembly and five in the Czech National Council. The LDS is a center-right party and we support the government's program for economic reform. In the issue of our state's constitutional and legal arrangement we are in favor of the only form that has any prospects and that is, in our opinion, a tripartite union state. We respect Slovak claims to self-determination right up to establishing an independent Slovak state.

We have recently conducted promising negotiations with Civic Democratic Party Chairman Vaclav Klaus on an eventual electoral coalition. A broad-based coalition of the democratic right wing, which would place itself in opposition to the ever increasing left-wing trends in society, should in any case be formed for the parliamentary elections. We would also welcome cooperation with Slovak liberal right-wing oriented parties. Liberal democratic guests attending our assembly from Germany, Holland, and Austria also held this view. I want to emphasize that our LDS—already a member of the Liberal International in only the second year since its establishment—will, under its new leadership, initiate cooperation with the public and will contribute on all levels toward strengthening the coalition of right-wing parties on the Czechoslovak political scene."

Poll Shows ODS, HZDS Most Popular Parties

LD2011092291 Prague CSTK in English 2232 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Prague Nov 19 (CSTK)—The Civic Democratic Party (ODS) in the Czech Republic and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) in the Slovak Republic remain the most popular political forces in Czechoslovakia, according to the Prague-based Institute for Public Opinion Research. A poll conducted by the institute in the first week of November and made available to CSTK today, asked 1,360 voters which political party they would support if elections were held now.

In the Czech Republic, 20 per cent of respondents (down 2 per cent from a month ago) said they favour the right-wing ODS, led by Federal Deputy Premier and

Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus. Next came the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) and the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD), each with 9 per cent. The Czechoslovak People's Party (CSL) followed with seven per cent and the Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party with 5 per cent. The Civic Movement (OH), the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia (HSD-SMS), the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), and the Agrarian Party (ZS), all garnered 4 per cent support.

In Slovakia, the HZDS, led by Slovak ex-Premier Vladimir Meciar, headed the poll with 22 per cent, reflecting a five per cent drop in support since October. The KDH, a member of the Slovak Government coalition, had 16 per cent, the Slovak National Party (SNS) 13 per cent, the Democratic Left Party (SDL-former communists) 12 per cent, and the Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence (ODU-VPN) 5 per cent.

The ODS is backed mainly by urban residents and by people satisfied with the economic reforms inaugurated by Klaus. Support for the KSCM and the CSSD comes mainly from residents of smaller towns and among older voters. In Slovakia, the HZDS is most popular among city-dwellers, while the KDH enjoys its greatest support in villages and among the older generation.

Young people in the Czech Republic widely favour the HSD-SMS. In Slovakia the SNS is largely supported by the young and by male voters. 14 per cent of respondents in the Czech Republic and 16 per cent in Slovakia said they would stay away from the polls, a slight rise over last month.

Katona Predicts Slovenia, Croatia Recognition

LD1911234791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2151 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, Nov 19 (TANJUG)—According to the Budapest daily NEPSZABADSAG, state secretary in the Hungarian Foreign Ministry Tamas Katona said that Hungary would next month recognize the independence of Slovenia and Croatia, after it had previously been done by the EC summit.

"It is more than certain that after the EC countries' summit in Maastricht in mid-December, these countries will recognize the independence of Slovenia and Croatia, thus removing the obstacles in the way of Hungary taking such a step," the daily quotes Katona as telling last night's extraordinary session of the parliamentary foreign affairs committee.

Katona said that Hungary "will not decide on playing the last trump card in dealing with the Yugoslav crisis, that is, recognizing Slovenia and Croatia either unilaterally or in a narrow group of countries, since it is also anxious to maintain political and economic relations with the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia and does not wish to aggravate the position of its minority in Vojvodina."

Customs Detains Arms Smuggler at SFRY Border

LD1911181291 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Hungarian customs officers seized a large quantity of smuggled arms at the Redics border station [at the Hungarian-Yugoslav border]. In the storage space of a vehicle with an Austrian registration number, more than 1,000 small arms were found. The driver, who had a Yugoslav passport in his posession, was driving to Slovenia from Hungary. He arrived in Hungary from the direction of Gratz, on Slovene territory, with the same cargo, but was not caught on entry.

Foreign Ministry Welcomes Shevardnadze's Return

LD2011103291 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] The Hungarian Foreign Ministry welcomes the fact that Eduard Shevardnadze is again directing Soviet diplomacy. Foreign affairs spokesman Janos Herman stated that Hungary regards Shevardnadze as a politician of great international standing, an outstanding politician with whom Budapest had an extremely good relationship. In reply to a question from MTI, the Hungarian foreign affairs official also said that Moscow has not yet informed Budapest officially of the change, nor has it received any information about any modification of the Soviet foreign minister's visit to Hungary scheduled for the end of November.

CSFR Envoy Meets Antall, Corrects Misquotes

LD1911182291 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] On the instruction of Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa, Czechoslovak Ambassador to Hungary Rudolf Chmel today called on Hungarian Premier Jozsef Antall to express regret over the way the Hungarian press falsified and tendentiously commented on Marian Calfa's statements about the borders between our countries. Our correspondent Tomas Borec, reporting from Budapest, has more details.

[Borec] Czechoslovak ambassador Mr. Rudolf Chmel told our journalists accredited to Budapest about his call on Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall. He informed the latter that the Czechoslovak side and Prime Minister Calfa personally regret the misintepretation of his statement made at a press conference in Prague on Thursday, and particularly the distortion of the quote and the follow-up comment in MAGYAR NEMZET, which was the subject of a protest from the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In this connection our diplomat handed to Prime Minister Antall the authentic quote of the aforementioned statement, which is completely different from the one carried by the Hungarian press. Prime Minister Antall accepted this with gratitude. Ambassador Rudolf Chmel also pointed out that it is inappropriate that unconfirmed press quotes should become a subject of diplomatic demarches.

In the course of their conversation they basically agreed that this affair should not hamper the good relations between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, which have been developing lately along a positive trend since Visegrad and Krakow. The Hungarian prime minister also stressed Hungary's wish not to be dragged into domestic political discussions between Czechs and Slovaks. Mr. Rudolf Chmel accepted this.

Spokesman on Danube Commission, Soviet Treaty

LD1911221391 Budapest MTI in English 1442 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 19 (MTI)—New treaties with neighbors, shipping problems along the Yugoslav section of the Danube, the possibility of stationing EC monitors on the Yugoslav border, and which officals are travelling abroad were the main themes of today's Foreign Affairs Ministry press briefing.

Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin is scheduled to visit Hungary late November and initial the new Hungarian-Soviet treaty, ministry spokesman Janos Herman told reporters today. The declaration of security partnership will be an important part of the treaty. Further, the two countries are to renounce the use of force and guarentee they will not allow third parties to use their territory for aggressive intents against the other.

Also Herman said Hungary has sent a new draft treaty to Romania outlining a wide ranging and renewed system of comprehensive relations. The treaty should help develop cultural, economic, security policies and health contacts, settle national minority problems, and increase regional cooperation. The Romanian foreign affairs deputy state secretary has already been invited to Budapest.

The spokesman said the Hungarian-German treaty draft was well under way.

The Danube commission, recently convened at Hungary's request, is to soon begin in Budapest to survey the worsening situation on the Yugoslav section of the Danube. Recent incidents, including attacks on Soviet and Czechoslovak ships, have justified the Hungarian initiative, Herman said.

Budapest will also host EC Zagreb-based monitors and Hungarian Government talks on the latter's proposal to post observers at the Hungarian-Yugoslav border region.

In other news, Herman said Slovenian Prime Minister Lojze Peterle would soon visit Budapest to attend a conference entitled "Economic Transformation in Eastern Europe."

Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky left for an official visit to Luxembourg today. Tomorrow he goes to Strasbourg for the second Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers session to admit Poland to the council. In Strasbourg, Jeszenszky is to meet Soviet, Baltic states', Czechoslovak and Polish foreign ministers. From November 26-28, Jeszenszky is to visit Portugal.

Herman said NATO Secretary General Manfred Worner had invited the Hungarian foreign minister to NATO's ministerial session in December.

Hungary Signs Council of Europe Conventions

LD1911222291 Budapest MTI in English 1443 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Brussels, November 19 (MTI)—Hungary joined three Council of Europe conventions in Strasbourg today. The conventions on extradition, mutual assistance in investigation, and the transfer of convicted persons were signed by Andras Rakovszky, Hungarian ambassador to the Council of Europe. Present at the event was Council of Europe Secretary General Catherine Lalumiere.

Jeszenszky Views Relations With SFRY, CSFR

AU1911175891 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 18 Nov 91 pp 1,3

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Peter Nemeth in London; date not given: "We Negotiate on the Basis of Our Own Interests"]

[Text] Accompanying the Hungarian president in London, Geza Jeszenszky also arrived in the British capital. MAGYAR HIRLAP interviewed the leader of Hungarian diplomacy on this occasion.

[Nemeth] What can you achieve during this visit?

[Jeszenszky] We will hold many meetings, and the most important will obviously be with British Prime Minister John Major. I also hope that we will have an opportunity to present the Hungarian view on the EC and our opinion on the agreement on associate membership. I will also meet Foreign Secretary Hurd and finally, although this is not part of the official program, I will meet Lord Carrington, chairman of the Yugoslavia conference in The Hague. This is an important opportunity for Hungarian diplomacy, especially because, being greatly affected by the crisis and most interested in a peaceful solution, our opinion might be important. As a matter of fact, I have already noticed that our negotiating partners believe that we do have a direct overview of the Yugoslav crisis.

[Nemeth] You will travel to Brussels from London. What is your goal there?

[Jeszenszky] That is only by accident, or rather, it is a matter of timetables because I will be traveling to Luxembourg for a one-day official visit. However, I will meet our ambassador in Brussels and receive first-hand information on our negotiations with the EC.

[Nemeth] According to recent news, the delay in signing the agreement on associate membership is mainly due to the extremely tough negotiating style of Hungarians. Is that correct?

[Jeszenszky] I do not think that tough is the best expression. The simple fact is that now, we are truly negotiating. While Hungary was in the Soviet sphere of interest, it could not negotiate with its partners because it usually had to represent views that were not based on Hungary's interests. However, now we do not need to prove our commitment to Western values, and we do not need to be good boys and more cooperative than necessary. We can negotiate on the basis of our own interests. Politically, it is very important for Hungary to become an associate or full member of the EC and that this be accepted by others, but this common political will has to be turned into practice, namely, we have to have access to each other's markets. Therefore, at the moment, the issue is not how open-handed the EC is with us but exactly the opposite.

[Nemeth] Perhaps, we should find a better term in place of being tough, maybe, being tactical—be it the issue of Yugoslavia, Romania, or the CSFR. According to [Slovak] Prime Minister Calfa, Slovak independence cannot be implemented because the Hungarians would immediately make demands. The Hungarian Government is trying to avert this accusation, but Emil Bogdan, a parliamentary deputy of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, argued to the contrary in a radio program—although using a decent approach. Having to reconsider Trianon....

[Jeszenszky] I do not know about Emil Bogdan's commentary, so I cannot react to it. However, democracy will have to gain ground in the whole area, and—to quote Hungarian philosopher Oszkar Jaszi—its Archimedean point is the issue of national minorities. Other than the 3.5 million Hungarians living in the neighboring countries, there are also national minorities of 10 million people in Yugoslavia, for example. The dispute is over the future of national minorities in Yugoslavia, too. The Hungarian minority living in Slovakia would also like to have guarantees about its future. Communism only froze the conflicts that had surfaced after the war and now have emerged again in a mutated form. What is mainly needed in Slovakia is that the position of the Hungarian minority become stronger on the basis of local governments. As a matter of fact, only the Hungarian minority and not the Hungarian Government is competent in this issue.

[Nemeth] Nevertheless, how do you explain the fact that Hungary is occasionally depicted as a threatening neighboring country?

[Jeszenszky] There are domestic political reasons. It is possible that the Calfa statement was also a message for extremist Slovak groups. Nevertheless, it is not good to present a picture of danger to people. I would very much welcome cautious reactions to this Calfa statement in the Hungarian press. Hungarian-Slovak relations are still different from Hungarian-Romanian relations. Although, even the latter has some historical traditions. The present situation is an aberration that came about at the time of national awakening, and it has to pass. It might cease to exist in one or two years if the responsible politicians arrange the affairs in a European manner and style.

[Nemeth] Is it possible that Hungarian foreign policy could play a much more active role in settling the Yugoslav situation?

[Jeszenszky] Certain factors warn us to be reserved because it is vital that this conflict does not affect us—not only on the basis of selfish physical points of view, but also for economic reasons. I can easily say that, after the peoples of Yugoslavia, Hungary is the country most interested in having peace in this area. At the same time, I find the strong Serbian intentions of depicting Hungary as an enemy unfortunate. I have stated many times that we consider the rights of Serbs in Croatia just as important as the rights of Croats. I was also indignant over responsible Serbian leaders stating that whatever is due the Serbs in Croatia is not due Hungarians in Croatia....

[Nemeth] Do you see a solution in the near future?

[Jeszenszky] This is the case of an unfortunate marriage, so divorce has to follow. The fighting sides have to be separated and calmed down. They have to be physically separated the same way as a referee does it at a boxing match. A large no man's land has to be created that will be supervised by international troops.

[Nemeth] Many people fear that we may have to expect a similar situation in the Soviet Union, too. What does the Hungarian Government think about the new union treaty and the republics that have seceded?

[Jeszenszky] We strive for good relations with all sides. Russian-Hungarian and Ukrainian-Hungarian meetings will soon take place, and Boris Pankin will also visit Budapest in the near future. Mr. Abaimov, the Soviet ambassador, has recently visited me and informed me of the details of the new union treaty. Interestingly, the Hungarian-Austrian past emerged in many points: Many elements of the former monarchy can also be used in the current model. One such element is national sovereignty coupled with the possibility of common international appearance.

Finance Ministry Releases Budget Deficit Figure

LD2011071491 Budapest MTI in English 1913 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 19 (MTI)—Hungary spent over a billion dollars more than it received in the first ten months of this year, the Finance Ministry announced today. Hungary's budget deficit amounted to 96.2 billion forints (1.23 billion USD): revenues amounted to 575.1 billion forints, while expenditures reached 671.3 billion forints.

Incomes and expenditures incurred by international financial relations were roughly identical, with a net surplus expenditure of 585 million forints. The bulk of revenues came from World Bank borrowing and government credit repayments. (Egypt cleared a part of its overdue debt, and Poland effected preliminary reimbursement.) The largest single expenditure is the repayment of World Bank loans.

Foreign Ministry Protests Soviet Police Actions

LD1911182991 Warsaw PAP in English 1626 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 19—The Polish Foreign Ministry issued a sharp protest against the conduct of the Soviet Riot Police (OMO) which had brutally attacked Polish tourists at the Sheginie Polish-Ukrainian border crossing last Sunday. At least six persons were reported beaten with batons and several coaches damaged in result of the attack. All those injured were attended to at the Medyka Medical Centre, but no one was hospitalized.

Polish Consul in Kiev Ryszard Polkowski on Tuesday discussed the incident with Ukraine's deputy prime minister and minister for home affairs.

Polish Foreign Ministry official Tomasz Lis says situation at Sheginie crossing continues to be tense and the ministry fears any repeated attack may bring about tragic results if the Soviet police, whether they are provoked or not, use firearms. He said this was by no means the first incident when the Soviet OMO used force at the border crossing. The situation will not improve unless the principles regulating the border traffic between Poland and her eastern neighbours are fixed and adequate facilities built at check points, Lis added.

Walesa, Skubiszewski Discuss USSR, SFRY Ties

LD1911211391 Warsaw PAP in English 1952 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 19—President Lech Walesa and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski discussed in the Belvedere Palace on Tuesday current issues of Poland's foreign policy, among them the treaty on cooperation and neighbourhood between Poland and the Soviet Union and between Poland and Russia, expected to be initialled soon.

The two also evaluated the situation in Yugoslavia in the context of respect of the right of nations to self-determination, protection of ethnic minorities, respect of human rights and the need to use peaceful means in solving the conflicts.

State Agency Bans Private Radio, TV Stations

LD1911234291 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 2100 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Private radio and television stations throughout the country have recently received a decision by the State Radio Agency banning the transmission of programs, which is to take effect immediately. The federation supporting private radio and television stations does not agree with this decision.

Prime Minister Bielecki Hospitalized 19 Nov

LD2011173591 Warsaw PAP in English 1451 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 20—Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki was hospitalized last Tuesday [19 November] for alimentary duct complaints.

Head of the Warsaw clinic of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare Doctor Zbigniew Ehrmann believes Bielecki will be released from the clinic Thursday, or Friday [21 or 22 November] morning at the latest.

Parties Agree on Sejm, Senate Presidium Concepts

LD1911200891 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1900 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] In the course of today's meeting of the five center-right parties, a joint concept for the future shape of the Sejm and Senate presidiums was agreed. The candidature of Professor Wieslaw Chrzanowski for the post of speaker of the Sejm was also confirmed. A proposal was put forward for talks with the Democratic Union. Leszek Moczulski then said that the five are concerned to create a wider Sejm accord, which is necessary for the passage of certain bills of a constitutional character, whereas the undertaking of the initiative of talks with the Democratic Union is not to be treated as an attempt to widen the coalition by a further party.

The coalition of five has not yet undertaken talks with the president's plenipotentiary, Minister Mieczyslaw Wachowski, Leszek Moczulski said, and added that the coalition for the time being has no arguments that could induce the president to undertake a quick decision on the designation of the lawyer Jan Olszewski to the post of premier.

Alluding to the offer of talks between the five and the Democratic Union on matters relating to parliament, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Union said: We are people who are always open to talks. On the other hand, Professor Bronislaw Geremek stated that without the participation of the Democratic Union it is difficult to undertake matters in parliament.

The consultations of the five parties at the Senate building today were chaired by the leader of the Peasants' Alliance, Jozef Slisz.

5-Party Coalition Seeks Democratic Union Talks

LD1911195891 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] [Announcer] The coalition of five [political parties] has proposed talks with the Democratic Union for, as the communique puts it, the creation of a broader parliamentary accord.

[Begin recording] [Leszek Moczulski] We have already created an apparent majority in the Sejm, which will be sufficient for the appointment of a government. On the other hand, we must still have a majority that will be sufficient for carrying through certain [words indistinct] fundamental facts. The point is, quite simply, a small constitution. We want above all to ask the Democratic Union to join our five, which has a majority in parliament, and to agree on certain things. I think that then, in turn, other parties too would join. We wish to create a government based on the coalition of five parties, but this does not at all mean that the ministers have to come solely from these five parties. The Democratic Union has so many excellent people, that I presume that candidatures of people from the Union, I presume—this is my hypothesis, a very (?minor one)—that candidatures from the Union will also ensue.

[Tadeusz Mazowiecki] We are people who are always open to talks. On the other hand, we are tied to the fact that the positions should be clear. Hitherto, we do not know what the positions of these five groupings are, as we saw, we have observed, the contradictions between them, both as to personnel, in the matter of the person of the candidate for prime minister, as also in the substantive, by virtue of the differences between [words indistinct]. [end recording]

[Announcer] Out of the 460 deputies in the Sejm, the coalition of five has at its disposal 204 mandates.

Walesa Spokesman Praises Wachowski Qualifications

LD1911185391 Warsaw PAP in English 1427 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 19—No talks have been held yet between representatives of the centre-right coalition and head of the president's office Mieczyslaw Wachowski on the formation of the new government, presidential spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski said Tuesday. Secretary of State Mieczyslaw Wachowski was appointed by Lech Walesa last Monday to conduct consultations.

The spokesman said that Wachowski is "the most competent person" to conduct consultations. As "Walesa's personal secretary, secretary of state, and head of the presidential office, he is a politician who knows best the intentions of the president," Drzycimski declared.

This does not mean that the president shuns the talks with representatives of the five, Drzycimski explained. The five centre right parties—the Central Alliance (PC), the Christian National Union (ZCHN), the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN), the Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD), and the Peasant Agreement (PL) propose Jan Olszewski (PC) for the prime minister.

Centre Alliance: Wachowski-Led Talks 'Pointless'

LD2011034891 Warsaw PAP in English 1944 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 19—Chairman of the main board of the Centre Alliance (PC) said Tuesday that talks with Mieczyslaw Wachowski appointed by the president to carry out consultations with the five-party alliance would be pointless. Speaking on Radio Zet broadcasting station Jacek Maziarski said he views the proposal to conduct negotiations on the formation of a new government with the secretary of state at the president's chancellery as a kind of refusal on the part of Lech Walesa. "It is known that only the president can designate the prime minister, and the talks would deal precisely with that matter," Maziarski said.

Democratic Union Nominates Sejm, Senate Speakers

LD2011034491 Warsaw PAP in English 2124 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 19—The Democratic Union has named Olga Krzyzanowska and Zofia Kuratowska as its candidates for the speakers of the Sejm (lower house) and the Senate respectively, leader of the party Tadeusz Mazowiecki said Tuesday. In the previoues term of office both women acted as deputy speakers of the two chambers.

Walesa Negotiations on New Government Reported

AU1911124291 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 15-17 Nov 91 p 1

[Text] PAP—President Lech Walesa's 14 November talks with leaders of the Liberal-Democratic Congress [KLD], Confederation of Independent Poland [KPN], People's Accord, Citizens Center Accord [POC], and Catholic Election Alliance [WAK] lasted over one and a half hours.

"Lech Walesa reacted calmly to the Christian-National Union [ZChN] proposal that Jan Olszewski become prime minister, though he was not 100 percent sure Olszewski is the right choice," said KPN leader Leszek Moczulski. "The president made it clear he prefers Jan Krzysztof Bielecki."

WAK leader Wieslaw Chrzanowski said: "The president discussed various possible solutions, asking for them to be considered." According to Chrzanowsk, the president did not actually object to Olszewski.

Jozef Slisz of the People's Accord said that the president "respects the will of the majority, but voiced certain reservations about Olszewski's candidature for the prime minister's post." Gabriel Janowski, also of the People's Accord, added: "The president will play by the democratic rules of the game and let the five leading parties decide who will be prime minister."

Jacek Maziarski of the Center Accord was unable to explain why Jaroslaw Kaczynski had not come to the meeting, despite the invitation to do so. Asked whether Olszewski's candidacy would be forced through in the end, Maziarski said: "It is impossible to say for sure without considering the entire series of events that are only just unfolding. In any case, the president made it clear he would abide by the democratic rules of the game." Maziarski said the Center Accord would back Olszewski.

"As candidates for prime minister, the president also mentioned himself and Andrzej Stelmachowski," said Gabriel Janowski. Candidates for ministerial positions have not been discussed yet, he said. The ZChN will not apply for any ministerial post, but the People's Accord, which consists of Private Farmers' Solidarity, the Solidarity Peasant Party, and the Mikolajczyk Peasant Party, will do so. "Neither Solidarity nor the People's Accord have ever shirked responsibility for public affairs," Janowski said.

Donald Tusk announced another conference later in the day. "We will try to determine to what extent we are capable of forming a strong, positive pro-government program," he said. "We also intend to discuss Jan Olszewski's candidature with the Democratic Union. I hope the Democratic Union will be willing to talk." Tusk said that the next stage in talks will be a discussion on a government program. "The KLD's economic proposals announced on 13 November have been fully approved by the remaining partners," he said.

Asked by journalists what were the chances of the present prime minister heading the next government, Donald Tusk replied: "I do not wish to discuss Jan Krzysztof Bielecki's candidature because there is no such thing.

Balcerowicz Outlines 1992 Economic Policy Trends

AU2011091391 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA (Economy and Law Section) in Polish 15 Nov 91 p 1

[Antoni Kowalik report: "Arguing Over Diagnoses and Therapies"]

[Excerpt] Speaking at a meeting of the Council of Ministers Economics Council, Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz said that the final draft of the socioeconomic policy principles for next year is still under discussion. However, it is possible to talk about the main directions that activities will take, which is what the council discussed on 14 November. It was the body's last meeting during the present government's term of office.

During his review of policy principles, the deputy prime minister also summed up what has taken place in the economy over the past two years to, as he put it, determine where we are now. He recalled that, for example, in the second half of 1989, the annual inflation rate stood at 2,000 percent, fell to 150 percent last year, and is now running at 60 percent. The shortages that affected both the manufacturing industry and the consumer sector have been completely eradicated. This is due to at least three factors: macroeconomic policy, opening up the economy, and the liberalization of prices.

Other developments mentioned by Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz were: the convertibility of the currency and a market providing a much broader choice, especially so in the case of manufacturing and services, but somewhat less so in the case of banking. Over the past two years, the structure of ownership has changed—the change was the greatest in those areas that were previously neglected, such as trade, services, and construction. The private sector has created 1.5 million jobs, and private companies account for 22 percent of manufacturing output. At the same time, output has been falling—by 24 percent last year and by 12 percent this year. The economy is burdened by debt. Insufficient use is being made of foreign credits.

The purpose of the activities being proposed for next year, said Leszek Balcerowicz, is to halt and reverse the decline in output while retaining the basic results achieved through stabilization, that is, the downward trend in inflation, the present level of the supply of goods and services, zloty convertibility, and a safe reserve level. That will be very difficult. In seeking to attain these objectives, there can be no succumbing to the illusion that a lasting reversal of the recession can be attained through undermining the basic elements of the stabilization program.

Among the main directions of activity mentioned by the deputy prime minister were more rapid changes to key elements of the economic system, which primarily applies to the banking system, to privatization, and the principles underlying procedures vis-a-vis state enterprises. The changes should reduce the causes of uncertainty felt by plants, and create—and this also applies to the financial system—incentives for increasing the value of enterprises as well as maintaining the conditions of a so-called demanding environment. One of the things envisaged at the microeconomic level is the modification of the brake on wages. This would apply to good enterprises, which discharge their financial obligations, have above average export sales, and do not allow the ratio between profits and wages to deteriorate. The proposals also mention the possibility of enterprise profits being used to finance employee stock purchases.

Other directions of activity include: promoting competition, the more extensive use of foreign sources of capital, making the economy more export-oriented, and, on the macroeconomic scale, keeping the money supply at a level that will cause inflation to continue to come down.

The debate was opened by Prof. Witold Trzeciakowski, the council chairman. He emphasized that no decision

had been made on what type of model of a free market should be implemented so far. Choosing a particular model is an urgent and crucial task for parliament, the government, and the president. A consensus has to be attained among at least a working majority in parliament, and a compromise formula for stabilizing the transformation of the economy will have to be found.

He went on to say that the state should combat inflation, but that it should also combat the recession. Everything cannot be left to "the invisible hand of the market," The state should be more involved in directing the transformation of the economy. This calls for a long-term, active policy. A rapid, shock form of privatization is not possible. So, those areas of neglect that there are in the restructuring of the state sector have to be made up. Output has to increase if the recession is be overcome, but there are no incentives for that to happen. In this kind of situation, a stringent fiscal policy will not yield results.

Competition has to be encouraged, there should a precise policy on tariffs, and enterprises should be more commercially oriented. Then the tax on supernumerary wage increases and bonuses should be abolished and replaced by another tax. The destruction of the old order must, within certain limits, be offset by the creation of a new system. It is those limits that determine the extent to which constructive destruction enjoys public approval. [passage omitted]

No Boost in Economy; State Budget Deficit Growing

LD2011035691 Warsaw PAP in English 2218 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 19—There are still no signs of the rise in production in state enterprises and deficit of the state budget grows, the Central Planning Office (CUP) says, sizing up the state of economy during 10 months of this year. Regress of state enterprises causes the overall result of the growth of industrial production to be negative despite a clear rise in production in the state sector and one cannot expect improvement in the last two months of this year.

Commodity exchange with abroad rose and the value of the dollar export over the past 10 months was greater than a year ago by 15.9 per cent. Also, the imports were higher by as much as 85.4 per cent. According to CUP, there are factors fostering the rise in trade turnover with abroad, including exports to the USSR.

Deficit of the state budget amounted to 26.8 trillion zlotys (about 2.3 billion USD), which accounts for 16 per cent of the state incomes. Only during last September and October, deficit rose by 7 trillion zlotys (about 608 million dollars).

Although the past two months brought nominal growth of wages in the sphere of material production, relation between wage in the area of production and the budget sphere regularly worsens.

The unemployment rate amounts to 10.8 per cent but CUP notices fall in the growth of the number of unemployed.

Poll Views Perceptions of Election Results

LD2011094691 Warsaw PAP in English 1939 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 19—A recent public opinion poll shows that 29 per cent of respondents expect the results of the October 27 elections to have a positive impact on Poland's increased prestige abroad, while 25 per cent hope they should improve this country's economic credibility in the eyes of foreign partners.

The poll carried out by the Polish Radio and TV Polling Centre (OBOP) shows 42 per cent of respondents believe the outcome of the parliamentary elections in Poland will have a positive impact on correct relations between the state and the church, but only 27 per cent believe it would help reform the economy.

According to 36 per cent of those polled, the elections' aftermath will help solve problems in agriculture, and 35 per cent expect they should lead to bringing those guilty of corruption and economic fraud to accountibility.

In a survey carried out on November 5-6, 39 per cent of those respondents who did not vote in the October elections said they had made up their minds not to do so long before. The respondents most often (81 per cent) believed that poor turnout at the polling stations reflected people's disbelief that the elections would help improve Poland's economic situation, while others (75 per cent) thought people were simply tired of politics.

Iliescu on Relations With Moldova, USSR Treaty

AU2011114791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1128 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 19/11/1991—The problem of relations between the Republic of Moldova and Romania, taking account of the evolution of the political, social and economic situation on the two banks of the Prut, as well as of the processes in Europe and in the world, is, according to what President Ion Iliescu says in an interview with the daily "UNIREA" of Focsani and reproduced in daily "DIMINEATA" as well, "maybe the most thorny of the whole of the Romanian foreign policy." "I have been and am for a balanced, realistic approach, not so much on the spur of the wishes and feelings inevitably coming to the fore when it is about such things, but rather starting from the historical and political elements that give the real dimension of the problems, prefiguring possible solutions." President Iliescu recalls that Romania sustained the course to independence of the Republic of Moldova, "convinced that it is a necessary stage in the current international context. By acting in this way," he says, "we only sustain the political will democratically expressed by the Romanians across the Prut."

Referring to the requests for "the elimination of the consequences of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact," President Iliescu cautions that one must not so easily forget that the political realities of today are not a direct expression of that treaty, but of the war that followed, of the peace and conventions signed at the close of the war, just as one must not ignore the fact that, in order to really eliminate the consequences of a European policy that made possible for the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact to exist, Europe should know important political and mind changes, that cannot be achieved overnight and cannot be started only from the two banks of the Prut."

Answering suspicions that the recognition of two sovereign and independent states inhabited by Romanians in territories that once belonged to "Greater Romania" could spell danger at the current territorial integrity of Romania (as a precedent for other zones that would demand autonomy and then independence), President Iliescu stressed: "Romania's territorial integrity may not be subject to negotiation, in any condition. The Romanian state, as a unitary national state, is recognized as such by the whole international community, which is confirmed and reiterated by all CSCE documents, by the bilateral and multilateral treaties Romania is a party to. Consequently, any attempt at this inalienable attribute of Romanian statehood, no matter the reasons, accounts for a violation of the fundamental norms of international community and will get the due answer (...) the existence of national minorities in the current territory of the Romanian state may not be invoked as a reason of territorial separation, irrespective of the evolution of the relations between Romania and the Republic of Moldova."

Referring to the format and prospects of the relations between Romania and the Republic of Moldova, President Ion Iliescu says that there is indeed a program of assistance for the Romanian brothers across the Prut and development of bilateral relations, mentioning that the fundamental target of this program is that "in the hearth that gives identical definition to the Romanian soul, on either side of the Prut, we should have economic, political, cultural and human relations flourish, in such a way as to gradually but definitively remove the artificial barriers from the path of our unitary development."

As for the treaty negotiated and signed in April 1991 with the USSR, President Ion Iliescu reiterates the stand according to which "if, pursuant to the changes come about in the USSR, a new situation would emerge as compared with the one in existence at the time of negotiation and signing of the treaty, in which we would have in fact another international subject (...) it is but natural that Romania should consider some changes, including the creation of the legal framework required for handling the new situation."

Leaders Receive UK Deputy Foreign Minister Hogg

Melescanu Discusses Reform Process

AU1811212691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2018 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/11/1991—State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Romania Teodor Melescanu, and Douglas Hogg, minister of state at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, now on a visit to Romania, had talks at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania on Monday, November 18.

During the talks questions were approached related to the Romanian-British ties. Emphasis was placed on the specific ways in which Great Britain can support Romania in its efforts toward democratizing society and fastly applying economic reforms.

The guest expressed Great Britain's firm position on further backing the reforming process and its wish to see Romania not only joining the Common Market but also being its and other European bodies' full member. The British dignitary underscored that his country's policy was to work for the extension of Western institutional structures—both on an economic and security plane—like NATO or the Western European Union so that they should include all the former socialist countries as soon as possible.

Aspects were also approached with regard to international relations, more particularly to the developments in Yugoslavia and Romania's stance on them, the developments in the USSR and Romania's relations with the Republic of Moldova as well as the status of minorities here and the contribution various international bodies can make to the development of human rights.

Stolojan Cites Economy's Problems

AU1911135891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1212 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 19/11/1991—On Tuesday, November 19, in the morning, Romanian Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan received at the Victory Palace the delegation led by Douglas Hogg, minister of state at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office of Great Britain, who are paying a visit to Romania.

During the interview the guest was informed of the current stage and the prospects of the Romanian economy with the head of the Romanian executive outlining the steps to be taken for an appropriate preparation of the election campaign and of elections in this country.

In connection with present difficulties in the Romanian economy the importance was underscored of the developed countries' aid so that the current crisis may be overcome and the market economy built in Romania.

The talks were attended by Michael Atkinson, British ambassador in Bucharest.

After his talk with Romanian Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan on Tuesday, November 19, Mr. Douglas Hogg, minister of state at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office of Great Britain, said Romania had a fine potential for investment as it boasts rich natural resources, in agriculture in particular.

The guest called attention to the fact that no one would dare invest as long as there were question marks as to political stability which, he said, called for the implementation of democratic structures. He said he felt encouraged by the steps taken by the Romanian Government.

Mr. Hogg also said the West-European states wanted Romania to integrate into the Common Market and pointed out that the support along that line granted by the EEC, the Group of 24 and other international organizations depended to a significant extent, on the continuation of the process of democratization and transition to a market economy in Romania.

Officials Comment on Cooperation

AU1911200791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1847 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/11/1991—On Tuesday, November 19, the delegation headed by Douglas Hogg, minister of state at Great Britain's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, met with Dumitru Caluianu, vice president of the Foreign Policy Commission of Romania's parliament, with other members of the commission.

Approach was made of aspects concerning the development of the Romanian-British relations of friendship and cooperation in fields of mutual interest, especially between the two countries' parliaments.

During the meeting Douglas Hogg, minister of state at Great Britain's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, had with Victor Babiuc, Romanian minister of the interior, in Bucharest on Tuesday, November 19, the guest made a donation of drugs-detecting equipment to the police department.

Aspects related to the political and economic situation in Romania—especially the reasons for the National Liberal Party's participation in the newly created government—the prospects of Romanian-British relations against the background of the changes entailed by Romania's passage to a democratic regime of government and to the market economy were approached during the interview I.V. Sandulescu, state secretary in the Foreign Ministry, had on Tuesday with Douglas Hogg, minister of state at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office of Great Britain. The guest was appreciative of the fact that the new cabinet included the opposition, considering that as a guarantee of the continuation of the process of democratizing the Romanian society both politically and economically, which boosted the credibility of Romania's actions in its foreign relations, its relations with Great Britain implicitly.

Aspects of international relations were also tackled with emphasis on the firm stance of Great Britain in support of Romania and its attempts at taking part in various European economic and other bodies, in the context of the changes wrought in the world after the collapse of the East-European communist bloc.

"Three million tonnes of crude have been sent to Romania from England," I.V. Sandulescu, secretary of state at the the Foreign Ministry, stated to the press after his interview with Douglas Hogg, minister of state at the British Foreign Office, on Tuesday, November 19.

This quantity of fuel Romania so badly needs to ease the difficulties it is confronted with and to provide normal living conditions to the population this winter is a proof of the fact that the Western countries' promises to help Romania start to materialize.

Dijamescu Arranges Oil Deliveries From UK Firms

AU1711183991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1706 GMT 17 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/11/1991—Talks with executives of Gotgo, Chevon and Balli of England evinced the fact that they can supply three million tonnes of oil starting November 20 until April 1992 for money or for Romanian iron-and-steel and chemical products as well as oil derivatives. As a matter of fact, as Mr. Eugen Dijmarescu, state counselor, who returned from London, representatives of these firms would be in Romania early next week to sign contracts with economic agents.

The fact is noteworthy that Mr. Dijmarescu also talked with representatives of the Hinduya Financial and Industrial Group on supplying Romania with energy.

Among other things Mr. Dijmarescu stressed in a statement to the national news agency ROMPRES that an accord had been signed between the Constanta Shipyard and the South African Company "Safore" for the building of eight 170,000 DWT ore carriers which actually means that the yard has what to do until the end of the decade.

Prospects for Association With EC Examined

AU2011100991 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 14 Nov 91 p 6

[Article by Gh. Cercelescu: "The 'Journey' to Europe Has Been Shortened"]

[Text] The negotiations in Brussels on the association of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary with the European Economic Community (EEC) are almost complete.

The relevant accords will probably be concluded at the end of November. As announced at the EEC headquarters in Brussels, where the negotiations are being held, last minute difficulties have arisen linked—this time—to iron and steel. Although it is thought that this will not prolong the negotiations, these difficulties show the complexity of such a process, during which both sides made special efforts to remove other obstacles as well.

For Romania, which will follow the same road, the "journey" to the Europe of "the 12" will be somewhat easier if seen from a certain angle. Bucharest will start off from a level that has already been accepted for Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary; however, the difficulties encountered by "the three" may reemerge, so that the proper preparation of negotiations by our country is a condition for their success. We are pressed for time, although the date when discussions with Romania will begin has not yet been set. The decision in this respect would surely have been made by the EEC at the end of September, when "the 12" paved the way for negotiations regarding Bulgaria, however the well-known events in Bucharest the same month made the European Community postpone a similar decision in the case of Romania.

The EEC delegation that came to Romania in October to assess the political situation in our country came to the conclusion that there are still problems that will prevent a consensus of "the 12." EEC sources have given to understand that the Lange report—named after the delegation leader—emphasizes that the "miners action" did not cause a regression in Romania. On the contrary, the report believes that the polychrome structure of the current government, and especially the fact that the new prime minister was accepted by all political formations, prove our country's desire to continue on the road of reforms.

The serious developments in Yugoslavia have prevented the EEC Council of Ministers from broaching other problems as well, including those linked with economic and political union of "the 12." As far as Romania's acceptance is concerned, there are prospects that this will be approved of by the European Community in the not too distant future. In other words, the preparatory discussions between Romania and the EEC, during which each side will outline what such an accord should incorporate, are knocking at the door. However, the preparatory stage is just the beginning of an extremely complicated process. Then the EEC has to formulate proposals for a mandate [mandat]; after these proposals have been endorsed by the Council of Ministers, negotiations proper will begin and they will end when each article of the association accord has been agreed.

Thus, the Lange report conveyed a positive picture of Romania to the European Community. This picture will be even better, it stresses, if the coming general and local elections take place under normal conditions. On the other hand, "the 12" are now concerned about Poland, more precisely about the election result, which, in their opinion, could hamper the process of reforms. Polish political developments, LE SOIR writes, show that unwanted changes can occur in Eastern Europe even in countries where one would expect them to a lesser extent.

Possible Presidential Candidates Listed

AU2011101991 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 14 Nov 91 p 1

[A.M. PRESS report: "Presidential Candidates"]

[Text] According to parliamentary sources, secret "services" have drafted a document in connection with the presidential candidates, for their own information, but also to place at the disposal of President Iliescu, who is very interested in his possible competitors. From the same sources we have learned that so far Messrs. Radu Ceontea, Ion Ratiu, Radu Campeanu, and Corneliu Vadim Tudor are visibly acting in the direction of running for the presidency. The aim of the president's visits to agricultural areas is to test the rural electorate, which has consistently supported the current president, who—according to the same sources—hopes that he will be able to "continue to rely on this vote, bearing in mind the stunning loss of ground he is encountering among the ranks of the urban electorate."

Journalists Protest Rising Publication Costs

AU1911210691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1932 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 19/11/1991—The Romanian Journalists' Association [AZR] sent a text to ROMPRES drawing attention to the unprecedented situation of the written press. Through the high prices

generated by production costs the readers' access to information is seriously jeopardized. In our fragile democracy, the written press is about to be suppressed. If the government does not take immediate measures Romania will turn into an informational desert, the association writes voicing its determination to ask all the staff of the independent press to go on general strike. Likewise, the Journalists' Association calls on all international organizations fighting for the observance of fundamental human rights, on democratic governments, on the European parliament to be solid with the independent press in Romania.

In Romania there are the Journalists' Society of Romania, the Romanian Journalists' Association, the Union of Professional Journalists, the Association of Hungarian Journalists of Romania.

International

Croatian President Tudjman Talks With Vance

LD1911201991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1934 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, 19 Nov (TANJUG)—Cyrus Vance, special envoy of UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, met on Tuesday [19 November] evening in Zagreb with Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia. After the talks at Zagorje Villa, Tudjman hosted a dinner for the well-known American diplomat.

Nothing has been announced about the contents of the talks. On Wednesday [20 November] Cyrus Vance will hold talks with Prime Minister Franjo Greguric, Minister of Foreign Affairs Zvonimir Separovic, and Stipe Mesic, president of the SFRY Presidency. The UN secretary general's envoy will also hold talks on Wednesday with Ambassador Dirk Jan van Houten, the head of the EC observer mission in Yugoslavia.

Marrack Goulding, undersecretary of the world organization, also arrived on a visit to Croatia with Cyrus Vance. On Thursday [21 November] Cyrus Vance will continue his mission in Yugoslavia with a visit to Sarajevo.

Vance Assesses Meeting

LD1911235191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2234 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, 19 Nov (TANJUG)—"We had a long and good meeting," said Cyrus Vance, special envoy of the UN secretary general, after meeting Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. The U.S. diplomat did not comment about the details of the talks when asked by Croatian television reporters, who were given an opportunity to speak to the UN delegation in Yugoslavia. He only said that they will continue tomorrow.

Croatian President Tudjman assessed as useful the talks with Vance, which lasted for two and one-half hours. "It seems to me that we can say that all the efforts we invested during the talks today were an approach to peace, with the help of the international community." "It is obvious that the continuation of the war will create even more destruction and that we will sink into a situation that appears increasingly devoid of any prospects," said Tudjman. He expressed hope that with the help of The Hague conference and the delegation led by Vance, as envoy of the UN secretary general, Yugoslavia "will come closer to peace, a cease-fire, and what we are all hoping for—an end to war, halting the destruction, and establishment of a legal system."

Croatia's Separovic Recieves Soviet Consul General

LD1911232891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic has received Yuriy Girenko, the Soviet consul general, who informed him of the protocol presentation of letters of credence by Soviet Ambassador Gennadiy Shikin to Presidency Vice President branko Kostic. Ambassador Shikin has the task of carrying on with constructive cooperation with all the republics and wants to visit the Croatian republic as soon as possible to have talks with republican leaders. It was stressed during the meeting that the Republic of Croatia would welcome a significant USSR involvement in all international organizations, and especially in the Security Council regarding the dispatch of peacekeeping forces to Croatia so that the war in Croatia can be halted.

Vojvodina, Tyumen Oblast Discuss Oil, Gas Deals

LD2011114191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1358 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Novi Sad, 19 Nov (TANJUG)—Vojvodina's oil companies are about to establish a long-term cooperation plan with oil producers from Tyumen Oblast in the Russian Federation. Gennadiy Ivanovich Raykov, mayor of the industrial center of Tyumen in Siberia, is heading the Tyumen delegation in talks with Vojvodina officials.

The Tyumen delegation is visiting Vojvodina to explore in greater detail the possibility of developing comprehensive cooperation with the Vojvodina economy in the area of oil and gas prospecting and exploitation and in supplying Siberia with foodstuffs and other products. During talks today with Vojvodina Assembly Vice President Damnjan Radenkovic, the Tyumen delegation explained that Tyumen Oblast produced 1 billion cubic meters of gas per day, which equates to 360 billion cubic meters annually and 83 percent of the total gas production of the Russian Federation. The area also produces 350 million tonnes of oil annually, which is 63 percent of the total production of the Russian Federation.

The Tyumen mayor informed Radenkovic that Russian federation President Boris Yeltsin had issued a special decree allowing the town's authorities to export 10 percent of their oil and gas production for their own benefit and to use the money to improve the standard of living for its citizens. The amount of oil which the Tyumen authorities would export to Vojvodina in return for food and other products is not inconsiderable, Mayor Gennadiy Ivanovich Raykov said.

The Tyumen delegation also had talks with Stanko Radmilovic, acting director of the Serbian Oil Industry, about prospects for long-term cooperation between the oil industries of Serbia and the Russian Federation—an issue which Radmilovic has discussed with representatives of the Russian Federation as president of the Serbian Government.

Tomorrow the Tyumen delegation is expected to visit the Sintelon carpet factory in Backa Palanka, the Sombor agricultural combine, and the Fruska Gora shoe factory in Ruma.

French Hospital Ship Stopped Off Dubrovnik

LD2011112591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] The French Navy medical support ship, the Rance, which was due to sail into the port of Dubrovnik at 0715 this morning had not arrived by 0830. According to the latest reports, the ship, which is carrying medical supplies for Dubrovnik, has been stopped in the waters off Dubrovnik. Talks are reported to be under way between representatives of the French ship and of the ships of the Yugoslav occupying navy which have been blocking the port of Dubrovnik. The French ship is being awaited in Dubrovnik by the French Secretary of State for Humanitarian Action, Bernard Kouchner.

German Envoy Summoned Over Warship Plan

LD2011000391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2030 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, November 19 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Foreign Ministry today announced it had summoned the charge d'affaires of the German Embassy in Belgrade, Martin Lutz, in connection with an information that the Western European Union (WEU) had decided at its conference in Bonn yesterday that some of its member-states send warships to the Adriatic Sea to escort ships carrying humanitarian aid to Yugoslav ports.

Lutz said that the WEU had not adopted [words indistinct] conference yesterday, but that some of the WEU members had informed the organization of their unilateral decisions to send one frigate each to the Adriatic Sea, said the Foreign Ministry.

The Yugoslav side pointed out that humanitarian aid was being supplied to Yugoslavia unhampered in keeping with Yugoslav and international norms.

In view of this, there is [words indistinct] justification for individual countries to send warships to escort ships carrying humanitarian aid, it was stressed.

The ministry emphasized that shipments of humanitarian aid would not be hampered in the future, either, and that they must respect the regimen of navigation in Yugoslav territorial waters.

Iranian Economic Delegation Discusses Contracts

LD1911161591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2119 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 18 (TANJUG)—Specific contracts for Yugoslav firms in Iran were discussed here today by Moftazafen Jamuassan, vice president of Iran's biggest private corporation A.H. Ajtollahzadeha, and Deputy Federal Secretary for Foreign Economic Relations Bozo Jovanovic.

Jamuassan, who heads Iran's economic delegation on a visit to Yugoslavia, has broad powers from his corporation to contract for new deals and projects in Iran by Yugoslav firms such as Energoprojekt, Sipad, Metal Works Tito and Steelworks Zenica. The visit shows a swift reaction of Iranian capital to the Yugoslav federal government's business offers made during Jovanovic's visit to Iran some 20 days ago.

Dutch Envoy Expresses EC's Support for Markovic

LD1911165191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1432 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 19 (TANJUG)—The Netherlands Ambassador Fitelars to Belgrade today expressed "full support to the current legal and legitimate federal government and its prime minister" in the name of the European Community, as Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic's cabinet announced.

The Netherlands is the president of the European Community.

The announcement sets out that the Netherlands ambassador expressed the E.C.'s support in his talk with Prime Minister Ante Markovic, who received him at his (the ambassador's) request.

The announcement says that Markovic and Fitelars discussed "the current situation in Yugoslavia and the efforts the U.N. is investing through the secretary-general's special emissary regarding the deployment of peacekeeping forces in yugoslavia".

The Federal Assembly's rump Chamber of Republics and Provinces said it had no confidence in Markovic at its session last Friday [15 November]. The other Assembly body—the Federal Chamber—still has not declared its stand on the issue, while the Yugoslav Presidency has a session today at which it is determining the candidates for the new federal prime minister. Only four of the Yugoslav Presidency's eight members have been attending its sessions for over a month and a half now.

At yesterday's press conference, the federal prime minister assessed the Chamber of Republic and Provinces' nonconfidence in him as "an illegitimate and illegal act".

Talks Held on EC Monitoring in Krajina

LD1911200191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1935 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Knin, November 19 (TANJUG)—Head of the European Community monitor mission for Dalmatia, Italian Ambassador Mario Bondiolli on Tuesday [19 November] visited Knin to discuss the creation of conditions for a permanent E.C. mission in the Serbian autonomous region of Krajina, a largely Serb-populated region in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia. No agreement, however, was reached in the matter.

The representatives of the Krajina government told Ambassador Bondiolli that only the region's legitimate organs could reach a decision on the presence of an E.C. mission in the region and that it would have to be at a written request, said minister of information to the Krajina goverment Lazar Macura.

Ambassador Bondiolli, who was not satisfied with the response, rejected it, said Macure.

Ambassador Bondiolli and commander of the Yugoslav Army Knin Corp General Vladimir Vukovic, who also participated in the talks, left for Zidnic later in the day.

As learned from Army sources, negotiations were under way here on Tuesday afternoon on an absolute ceasefire in Dalmatia.

The Croatian delegation in the talks was headed by republican minister Davorin Rudolf.

GATT Meeting To Discuss Sanctions 3 Dec

LD2011034191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2156 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 19 (TANJUG)—Assistant Federal Secretary for Foreign Economic Relations Boran Karadjole has said that Yugoslavia will officially raise the question of protective measures of the GATT at the organization's session in Geneva on December 3, since, as its member, is was affected by unjustified and illegitimate economic sanctions of the European Community.

Initial estimates put Yugoslavia's minimum direct damage from the sanctions at 650 million dollars a year, and maximum at 1.2 billion. Indirect damage, however, will be several times larger—Karadjole told a press conference in Belgrade today.

He did not rule out a possibility of Yugoslavia demanding that the GATT mechanism for settling disputes be set in motion. This implies the forming of a commission to decide who is right in a possible dispute with the EC.

The EC decision is contrary to the letter and spirit of the General Agreement on Tarrifs and Trade and constitutes the use of economic sanctions for political purposes, recalled Karadjole. He said that the sanctions would affect the entire Yugoslav economy, above all the textile industry, ferrous metallurgy and, in part, chemical and pharmaceutical industries.

Asked about the official Soviet reaction to the EC decision, Karadjole replied that there were no indications of the Soviet Union joining the EC sanctions.

Federal

Loncar Confirms Departure From Government

AU2011114091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] My departure is definitive. This was stated by Budimir Loncar [federal secretary for foreign affairs] in an interview in today's issue of BORBA. Criticizing the remaining four members of the SFRY Presidency, Budimir Loncar said that they are not free of responsibility, and that it is even more difficult to justify the behavior of Stjepan Mesic, Janez Drnovsek, Vasil Tupurkovski, and Bogic Bogicevic [other members of the SFRY Presidency].

Speaking about the members of the Federal Executive Council, Budimir Loncar stressed that he was sorry at the end of his work to see how some of them, trying to board other ships at the last minute, are pushing and hitting with their arms and feet those who had remained loyal.

Assembly Delegates Oppose Replacement of Markovic

AU1911152791 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Nov 91 p 3

[Report by V. Vignjevic: "To Be or Not To Be"]

[Text] Will the Federal Chamber, like the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces, "bow to the suggestion" of the four-member Presidency and withdraw its support for Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic at its session scheduled for Thursday 21 November? The question is not so difficult because, even if the Chamber expresses its confidence in him—which is difficult to expect—the Belgrade part of the collective head of state will use the constitutional possibility of adopting such a decision on behalf of the Assembly on the basis of a direct danger of war. This has already been announced by Vice President Kostic. Therefore, the result, whether the delegates like or not, is the same. The semi-presidency is already nominating a successor for the federal government.

The first reaction, by at least some delegates—those who have constantly been warning that the chambers of the parliament cannot be reduced to two republics, Serbia and Montenegro (the Macedonians were not present at the last session of the Federal Chamber on 15 November)—indicates that such a "stroke of a pen" will deepen the already deep polarization that has been burdening the federal parliament for some time even without the Slovenes and Croatians. This was a warning issued by Ibrahim Hadzic (Bosnia-Hercegovina) and Husein Hodzic (Serbia) in their statements for BORBA.

The statement made by Branko Kostic to Radio POLITIKA obviously demonstrates the preciseness of the scenario for toppling the president of the Federal Executive Council and the federal government. In the speech

which he delivered at the meeting of the Federal Chamber on 15 November (one cannot talk about a session, because there was no quorum since Macedonians did not come), the brunt of criticism was directed at the federal prime minister and federal secretary for foreign affairs, Hadzic said. Immediately after that, the Chamber of Republics and Provinces raised the question of confidence and called for the replacement of Ante Markovic. It also asked the Presidency to appoint a successor. The day after that, in an interview for Radio POLITIKA, answering the question of what would happen if the Federal Chamber did not accept that, Kostic said that the Presidency will do it by itself by using the decision on acting in the conditions of a direct threat of war. This means that it is already known that the Federal Chamber will accept the initiative. The initiative will be carried out even if the chamber does not accept it. The adoption of the Federal Chamber's conclusion on what constitutes a new quorum—according to which this house and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces should work in a new composition, that is, with delegates from Serbia and Montenegro—has been postponed until Thursday. The support for this decision and such intentions is not in question. They will adopt it regardless of the quorum. However, if the Chamber rejects the amendment of Bosnia-Hercegovina to the conclusion regarding the work of the Chamber (according to which decisions should be made through a consensus, that is to say, with at least 10 votes more than one half of the established quorum), who will, out of us delegates from Bosnia-Hercegovina, stay?

According to Husein Hodzic, asking the Federal Chamber to adopt the decision on no confidence in the president of the Federal Executive Council—or that this will be done by the Presidency "according to its own devices"—is impermissible, for Kostic and for any one else who cares about respect for the constitutional approach to their proposals, including this one.

This is obviously a case of to be or not to be, Hodzic said. The four-member Presidency will either realize its intentions or will break up everything that exists in the federation. The fact that they do not care about the work of the federal parliament and its decisions, is also demonstrated by the behavior of the Presidency in the last four months. Members of the Presidency did not find it necessary to reply to the demands of the Federal Chamber for almost four months, but then, because of the changed circumstances at home and abroad, demanded that a session of the Federal Assembly be held overnight. It is clear to all normal people in this country that what the members of the Presidency want to receive, in front of domestic and international public, is some kind of "umbrella" for adopting their illegitimate and unconstitutional decisions. I hope that the delegates in the Federal Chamber will bear this in mind and that, as representatives of their peoples rather than the parties in power, will know how to reply to this demand of the vice president of the SFRY Presidency.

My view is that this is the final act of destroying Yugoslavia for which the four-member Presidency of the country that no longer legally exits are allegedly fighting. It would be more honest, since they already "precisely know" what their population is and what the borders are, if they fought for their own Yugoslavia and not for the one that actually no longer exist. In doing this, they also violated some basic rules of mathematics when they called themselves the SFRY Presidency, because according to their mathematics, eight minus four is five. They also contradicted the science of statistics by accurately adding the incorrect number of peoples who want to enter their Yugoslavia. They arbitrarily came up with a figure of 12.5 million people who had already voted in favor of new Yugoslavia without having asked any of those people to say it themselves.

BORBA Views Reactions

LD1911152791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1340 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, November 19 (TANJUG)—Belgrade daily BORBA writes on Tuesday [19 November] that the leaders of political parties in Yugoslavia have proposed as possible Yugoslav prime minister designate the leaders of the Democratic Party, Dr. Dragoljub Micunovic and Dr. Vojislav Kostunica, prime minister of the self-proclaimed Serbian Autonomous Region (SAO) Krajina in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Dr. Milan Babic, leaders of the Serbian Liberal Party Dr. Kosta Cavoski and Dr. Nikola Milosevic, and Prime Minister of Serbia's Autonomous Province Dr. Radoman Bozovic.

In a poll BORBA published on Tuesday, leader of the ruling Demos coalition in the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia, Dr. Joze Pucnik, assesses that "removal of Markovic was one of the last symbolic acts with which the Yugoslav federation was sealed as a state."

Slovenian Prime Minister Lojze Peterle stated "surprise that the demand to remove Markovic came so late."

Mijat Damjanovic of the Party Reformist Forces of Serbia assessed that the "removal of the Yugoslav prime minister was illegal and illegitimate," because the "rump Yugoslav state presidency was not legitimate and legal."

"We welcome the decision on removing Markovic", said leader of the Serbian Radical Party Dr. Vojislav Seselj, who emphasized that his party "called for an urgent forming of a transitional government of Yugoslavia."

Official of the Serbian Democratic Party Dr. Jmvan Raskovic assessed that a "nonexistent parliament was removing a nonexistent prime minister."

Yugoslav Parliament Vice President Irfan Ajanovic described the decision on removing Markovic as "unconstitutional and illegal," and warns that the "removal of the Yugoslav prime minister would not be accepted by the international factors working towards

the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, because this move only complicated things further."

The federal parliament's Republics and Provinces Chamber on Friday [15 November] delivered a no-confidence vote to Markovic, while the Yugoslav Presidency has immediately opened proceedings to choose a new Yugoslav prime minister.

Ante Markovic on Monday [18 November] assessed in the Yugoslav parliament the no-confidence vote as an "illegal and illegitimate act," noting he "had no reason to resign."

The Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav parliament is on Thursday [21 November] to debate the survival of Ante Markovic's government.

Defense Ministry Says Croatia Rejecting Refugees

LD2011031991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0011 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, November 19 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Defence Ministry spokesman Colonel Milan Gvero today accused the authorities of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia of not wanting to take over a group of several thousand Croats who want to go to territories controlled by the Croatian forces.

Gvero told TANJUG that the aim of the Croatian authorities was to accuse the Army of mistreating several thousand women, children, exhausted and ill elderly people.

He explained that the Yugoslav Army on Monday [18 November] rescued the residents of Vukovar who had been stranded there for several months. They said they wanted to go to territories controlled by the Croatian forces and the Yugoslav Army thus contacted authorized Croatian organs and worked out their transfer to the village of Lipovac, on the Belgrade-Zagreb highway.

The Croatian authorities, however, said they could not take over the group and twice offered other transfer points, knowing that the road was blocked.

Owing to the obvious unwillingness to accept them, the refugees spent last night and today on the road, and the Army provided food for them, Gvero said, adding that officials of the International Red Cross and journalists were witness to all this.

Slovenia

Parties Make New Demands for Government Change

LD2011033891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1825 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Ljubljana, November 19 (TANJUG)—The Social Democratic Union and the Alliance of Free Trade Unions of Slovenia on Tuesday [19 November] joined a proposal made by the Socialist Party of Slovenia to move for a vote of confidence in the government of that Yugoslav republic and its Prime Minister Lojze Peterle.

The Union said that the ruling coalition Demos was no longer able to exercise power and that the "moves of the current government are pushing Slovenia into the same mistakes as those made by Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic—uncontrolled privatization, financial speculations, centralization of the state and chaos."

The Union claimed that the government "is taking care only of the police, the Army and the state administration" and voiced doubts about the government's foreign policy moves.

The party called for the earliest possible holding of new elections and adoption of a new constitution and election law.

The party proposed Igor Bavcar, the republican interior minister, mandatary for forming a new, caretaker government to include member of the Yugoslav Presidency from Slovenia Dr Janez Drnovsek.

The Alliance of Free Trade Unions, however, pointed out that the government was unable to resolve the serious economic problems, whose pronounced deterioration results especially from the European Community sanctions.

Croatia

Republic To Reject 'Redrawing of Borders'

LD1911171191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Statement issued by Croatian Defense Ministry and the Main Headquarters of the Croatian Army]

[Text] The heroic and sacrificing defense of the town of Vukovar has been continuing uninterrupted for three months now, for two months of which the town has been completely surrounded. Fighters and inhabitants of Vukovar and forces of the Croatian Army have been heroically fighting outside the town an enemy superior in many ways, thus breaking the enemy's incessant attacks on the town.

The final enemy offensive which started on 16 November, during a cease-fire, using all forces at the disposal of the Yugoslav Army, Serbian territorial defense, and Chetnik formations, began with an attack on Vukovar and is continuing on all battlefields with the aim of seizing and occupying new territories and rounding off, as a fait accompli, the previously conceived borders of Greater Serbia, i.e. a mini-Yugoslavia, before the arrival of peacekeeping forces.

This time again, in the face of the international public, the aggressors—Serbia and the Yugoslav Army—violating all international conventions and norms and

the cease-fire, are seizing the territory of Croatia through military action and violence in order to redraw the borders and annex parts of Croatia. Under constant attacks from infantry, tanks, and air forces of the enemy Serbo-Yugoslav Army, the Croatian defense forces were compelled to assume new positions in order to prevent the occupying army from seizing territories which it wishes to include in Greater Serbia.

Unfortunately, in this superhuman battle we are faced with the enemy's sabotage activities: Some elements serving the counterintelligence service and other intelligence centers have been using the difficult position in which Vukovar is now, not only for spreading defeatism, but also for the preparation of actions to overthrow the constitutional order of the Republic of Croatia.

Croatia and the entire progressive and democratic world will not accept the policy of fait accompli and the redrawing of borders. The armed forces of the Republic of Croatia and the whole Croatian people will, through their decisive fighting, prevent the aggressors from achieving their intentions; they will, through military and diplomatic action, defend their territorial integrity and make Croatia a sovereign and democratic state.

Borovo Naselje Commander Surrenders 19 Nov

LD1911192191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1545 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Dalj, 19 Nov (TANJUG)—It is understood from quarters close to the command of the Novi Sad corps that Mirko Nikolasevic, known as "Brka", commander of the Croatian paramilitary formations in Borovo Naselje, surrendered like a coward, along with his wife, in Borovo Naselje today. He surrendered alone, without his subordinates, whom he had left alone, it is being noted.

According to the same source, sporadic firing by members of the Croatian National Guard Corps is still being heard in a section of Borovo Naselje known as Banana. However, the remaining guardists, armed Croatian Democratic Community members and Croatian Interior Ministry personnel are expected to surrender today to Yugoslav People's Army units, the territorials, and the volunteers who have been fighting for over two months here.

'Almost All' Armed Forces in Vukovar Surrender

LD1911200791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1920 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Vukovar, Yugoslavia, Nov 19 (TANJUG)—Almost all of the Croatian armed forces in Vukovar have surrendered to the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), inform military sources in this eastern Slavonian town in the Republic of Croatia.

The JNA took over the town yesterday, after two and a half months of fighting. During the day, sporadic shots rang out in the streets of Vukovar in clashes between the JNA and individuals and minor groups of members of Croatian forces hiding in the houses.

TANJUG reports that fighting has completely stopped in Vukovar in the afternoon. The last of the fighting has died down around the town hospital, which was provoked this morning by the extremist Croatian guardsmen who had refused to surrender. Several soldiers were wounded in the fighting.

The JNA has mounted guards at the entrance to the hospital in which 420 patients and 400 civilians are sheltering. Their evacuation is to begin tomorrow.

Military sources inform that Croatian guardsmen and police have relinquished their chief stronghold on Mitnica Hall in the southeastern part of the town.

Numerous foreign and home reporters today visited the area around the hospital and other parts of the town and counted 33 bodies lying in the streets. Vukovar Territorial Defence units today set up a town militia to take control of the entire territory of the town.

Mined Roads Block Vukovar Evacuation

LD1911175491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1556 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Vukovar, Nov 19 (TANJUG)—About 2,000 women, children and old men evacuated last night from Vukovar, the town which came under the control of Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) units on Monday [18 November] afternoon, are now waiting in the town of Morovic south of Sid to be taken to territory controlled by Croatian forces.

TANJUG has learned from military sources that the civilians spent the entire night in Morovic because the Croatian side has not yet cleared of mines the road which should be traversed by the convoy.

It was agreed yesterday with the Croatian authorities that the civilians should be evacuated via Morovic and the town of Lipovac on the Croatian side.

The Croatian side has suggested an alternative route through the town of Strosinci, also in Croatia, but this route is blocked by two destroyed bridges.

Most of the civilians in Morovic spent the night in buses, with the YPA supplying them with food.

Sporadic gunfire can still be heard in Vukovar itself.

It is uncertain if the evacuation of the town's hospital will be carried out today, as planned—there was some gunfire around the hospital this morning.

YPA officers in Vukovar say in their opinion the Croatian side is trying to provoke an attack on the hospital, which is to be evacuated by a convoy of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) which arrived in the village of Negoslavci today.

Member of the ICRC mission in charge of the eastern Slavonian region Nicolas Borsinger told journalists that according to information he possessed there were about 400 wounded in the Vukovar hospital.

YPA units continued today escorting smaller groups of civilians out of the town, which has suffered enormous damage. The survivors were mostly hiding in cellars when hostilities ceased.

Bodies of the dead, some decomposing for months, litter the streets and cellars.

Serb refugees from Vukovar say members of the Croatian National Guard and police during the fighting in houses and cellars killed a great many people. Many are also believed to have died from the heavy artillery bombardments of the town.

It is quite impossible to give a reliable casualty toll at the moment. An estimated 5,000 persons have been evacuated from Vukovar since yesterday.

In a military sense the Croatian sides in Vukovar have been totally defeated.

Today's gunfire is probably the result of skirmishes between YPA units and remnants of the Croatian armed formations still concealed in Vukovar.

'Torture Chambers' Discovered in Vukovar

AU2011163491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1409 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Report by Mirko Stankovic]

[Text] Weapons have become completely silent in Vukovar. Those whom the Croatian leadership and [word indistinct] General Tus called heroes, because they were still putting up resistance in the immediate vicinity of the hospital, were not even aware that they were cowards with the bloodiest hands and did not have the (?courage) to surrender because of fear and responsibility.

General Tus sent help to his proteges in the form of 1,500 elite fighters, but on the way there they were defeated in the corn fields and ran away in disarray. The resistance of these quasi-heroes has been broken, and they have all fallen in the hands of the liberators. So far about 1,700 members of the Croatian Guard, the Black Shirts, legionnaires, and mercenaries from all over the world have surrendered to our forces.

Much gold, foreign currency, and other valuables have been found in their pockets and clothes. Some 48,000 German marks were found in the trouser leg of one guardsman alone. About 500 members of the guard were hiding among some 1,000 patients in the Vukovar hospital. They sought protection from the director of the hospital, Dr. Vesna Bosanac, from punishment for their crimes. Until the inauguration of the Croatian Democratic Community, Dr. Bosanac, a well known citizen of Vukovar, had been as gentle as a lamb, but then turned into an untamed mare overnight.

Several torture chambers were discovered during the search of houses and cellars. They contained all possible devices for torturing and killing, including an electric chair. During the interrogation of the criminals, a certain Marko Luketic, a 21-year-old guardsman from Andrijasevci, said that he alone had killed 15 soldiers of the Yugoslav People's Army.

All in all, in the military sense, Croatia has lost not only the town of its destiny, but also a complete division of mercenaries and criminals from Croatia and the world. If Croatia was defended in Vukovar, then it has fallen along with the concept of (?decisive) defense.

Serbia

Transport of Vukovar Citizens to Hungary Denied

LD1911233691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2008 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Novi Sad, Nov 19 (TANJUG)—The port authority of the Yugoslav city of Novi Sad, which regulates navigation on the Danube, today refuted as groundless a report broadcast by Croatian radio to the effect that the order of Maltese Knights has mounted an operation to evacuate 2,000 citizens of Croatia's western Slavonian town of Vukovar up the Danube to Hungary.

According to the Croatian radio report, the republican government has "accepted with gratitude the undertaking of the order of Maltese Knights to evacuate 2,000 citizens of Vukovar up the Danube to Hungary."

The Novi Sad port authority which regulates traffic on the section of the Danube from Vukovar to the Hungarian border today told TANJUG there has been no sign of an evacuation of civilians by river ships to neighbouring Hungary.

The authority stressed that the Danube is an international river and an international waterway where international regualtions of the transport of goods and people are in force.

For all undertakings, including one by the Maltese Knights, it is necessary for the organizers of the transport to apply to federal bodies for the necessary permits. So far, the Novi Sad port authority has had no information that anybody has officially applied for such a permit, TANJUG was told.

Regulations recently imposed in the area of Vukovar due to way [as received] operations restrict navigation in that sector of the Danube to daylight hours between 7 A.M. and 6 P.M. and do not permit ships to linger in the area.

Radical Party Leader Supports Markovic Replacement

AU1911180091 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Report by Milisav Milic]

[Text] Dr. Vojislav Seselj, president of the Serbian Radical Party, welcomed the proclamation and revival of the Dubrovnik republic, the establishment of its government, and the decision to remain part of Yugoslavia.

At a news conference in Pristina, Seselj announced that the Serbian Radical Party welcomes the decision by the SFRY Presidency to invite the blue helmets, but it demands that they be put on the line between Karlobag, Ogulin, Karlovac, and Virovitica and certainly not on the borders of the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and Tito's Yugoslavia.

On this occasion too, Seselj called for all Serbian patriots to go to the front, especially western Slavonia. He thinks that volunteers from Kosovo and Metohija, however, should not be sent there.

[Begin Seselj recording] As many Serbs from Kosovo and Metohija as possible must stay here. They should be organized, armed, and trained to immediately nip in the bud any possible uprising by Albanian separatists. The Serbian Radical Party also warns all members of the Albanian national minority and members of the Croatian minority on the territory of Kosovo and Metohija that those families whose members are serving in the Ustasha military forces—the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia and the National Guard corps—cannot survive on the territory of Kosovo and Metohija. [end recording]

The Serbian Radical Party also supports the decision to replace Ante Markovic and advocates the urgent formation of an interim Yugoslav government. This was said by Vojislav Seselj, who also visited Janjevo near Pristina today, which is mainly populated by Croats.

SDA Expels Representative From Assembly

AU2011094091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 20 Nov 91

[Text] Mahmut Memic is the first deputy of the Serbian Assembly to be expelled by his own party. He is a member of the Party of Democratic Action from Novi Pazar. Novi Pazar BRATSTVO carries a statement of this party according to which Mahmut Memic is a traitor of the Muslim people. An official letter that states that Memic no longer represents the Party of Democratic Action, but only himself, has been sent to the deputy groups in the Serbian Assembly.

The leadership of the Party of Democratic Action has not contacted me, Memic says, but their official letter to the Assembly means that they have expelled me from the party.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Neum-Trebinje Talks on Return of Fugitive Croats

AU1911210291 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] A delegation from the Neum commune visited Trebinje today to hold talks with the military authorities on the possibilities for the return of fugitive Croats to some villages in Trebinje. Milan Dego has the details:

[Begin Dego recording] As we were told by Ivan Bender, president of the Neum Communal Assembly, the meeting was organized with the military command headed by Colonel Damjanovic. Both sides visited the villages of (?Veljamedja), Trmcina, and Pecina on the territory of the Trebinje commune where the possibilities for the return of fugitive Croats to these villages from Neum was discussed. The meeting should have been attended by Bozidar Vucurovic, president of the Trebinje communal Assembly, but he was absent because of certain obligations.

The Neum delegation asked the Army to withdraw from the aforementioned villages so that the refugees could then return to their homes. However, the Army representatives stressed that the refugees can return, but the Army will not yet withdraw from these villages.

According to Bender, both sides still mistrust each other so the first talks did not produce any results. They will be resumed tomorrow. [end recording]

Croatian 'Terrorists' Discovered in Republic

LD1911155591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1409 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 19 Nov (TANJUG)—President of the Council for the Protection of Constitutional Order of Bosnia-Hercegovina Biljana Plavsic told journalists at a news conference held in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency today that the security service of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Ministry of Internal Affairs, together with the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], has discovered groups of members of the Osijek police administration in central Bosnia who were aiming, as he put it, to carry out terrorist actions against facilities and civilians in a wide area. The ultimate goal, Plavsic said, was to foment the flames of war with the help of interethnic hatred in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

According to Plavsic, terrorists from Croatia have been planning to carry out terrorist actions against the Croatian population in order to prove the Croatian leadership's allegation that the Croats are allegedly

threatened by the Serbs and the Army in Bosnia-Hercegovina. It was also said that terrorists used weapons plundered from the JNA dump in Cepin near Osijek.

According to Plavsic, this was not the only terrorist group captured in the republic. Top representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina are today in the northeastern Bosnia area, because another group of terrorists has been captured there, about which the public will be informed, Plavsic said.

Biljana Plavsic said he had told Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic about this report which confirms that the security and political situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina has dangerously deteriorated. Plavsic demanded that a stand be taken in this connection at a session of the Presidency, it was said at the news conference today.

Serbs Announce Final Results of Plebiscite

LD2011070991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1558 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Nov (TANJUG)—The Belgrade-based Association of Serbs originating from Bosnia-Hercegovina today announced the final results of a plebiscite among the Serbs from Bosnia-Hercegovina and their descendants in Serbia on the future status of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The turnout in the plebiscite, which took place on 9-10 November, was 417,088 with 416,394 votes for, and 365 against Bosnia-Hercegovina staying in Yugoslavia. There were 329 invalid ballot papers.

Kotor Varos Serbs Denounce Croat Community

AU1911205991 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] The Kotor Varos commune has never been nor will it ever be part of a Croatian community of communes. The Croatian people are the third largest population group in this commune, and they cannot and will not be linked on behalf of the majority Serbian people with any kind of Herceg-Bosnia. This was said in today's statement by the communal committee of the Serbian Democratic Party of Kotor Varos which concerned a report on the formation of a community of communes of Herceg-Bosnia.

Muslims Reject Setting Up Croatian Community

AU2011120191 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] The decision to set up the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia is unacceptable for the Party of Democratic Action. The decision does, however, recognize the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina, but it was adopted without the knowledge and consent of the citizens of the communes, which were, for the most part, arbitrarily mentioned in the decision. This was stated in a communique issued by the Executive Council of the Party of Democratic Action today.

Instead of responding to the unilateral and illegal decisions on the setting up of the so-called Serbian autonomous regions, it would have been more useful to contribute to the strengthening of the constitutional-legal system of the republic, which is open to modern European integration. Only in this way can we remove the current threats to the legitimate interests of all peoples in Bosnia- Hercegovina, including the Croatian people. This was stated in the conclusion of the communique of the Party of Democratic Action.

Macedonia

Assembly Considers Election of President 'Unlawful'

LD1911173491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1636 GMT 19 Nov 91

[Text] Skopje, 19 Nov (TANJUG)—Macedonia considers the initiative to elect a new president of the Federal Executive Council to be unlawful and will therefore take no part in the formation of a new government with a president elected in an unlawful way, the Assembly of Macedonia announced today.

It is noted in a statement that on 4 October the Macedonian Assembly reached a conclusion that the "so-called SFRY Presidency" consisting of four members was unlawful and its decisions were invalid, without any legal force in Macedonia.

Discusses Political Situation

AU1911164991 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 18 Nov 91

[Text] The Assembly of Macedonia held a closed session yesterday at which the republican President Kiro Gligorov informed the deputies and members of the government about the current political and security situation in the republic and country, which has arisen following the implementation of the illegal measures of the reduced SFRY Presidency.

Endorsing the whole report by the republic's president, the Assembly adopted a conclusion that requires the government of Macedonia to take measures and actions to prevent the harmful consequences that could arise for the republic if chaos continues in the country and if more forces emerge that want to resolve the Yugoslav crisis through the continuation of the senseless war and not in a peaceful and democratic way. The Assembly also

requires the government to propose measures for theunhindered functioning of the general economic system in the republic and the promotion of economic cooperation with other republics and foreign countries, about which it should regularly inform the Assembly.

The Assembly particularly points out the need to extend and intensify the activities of all bodies and individuals in the republic on the international scene for the recognition of the international status of an independent and sovereign republic of Macedonia.